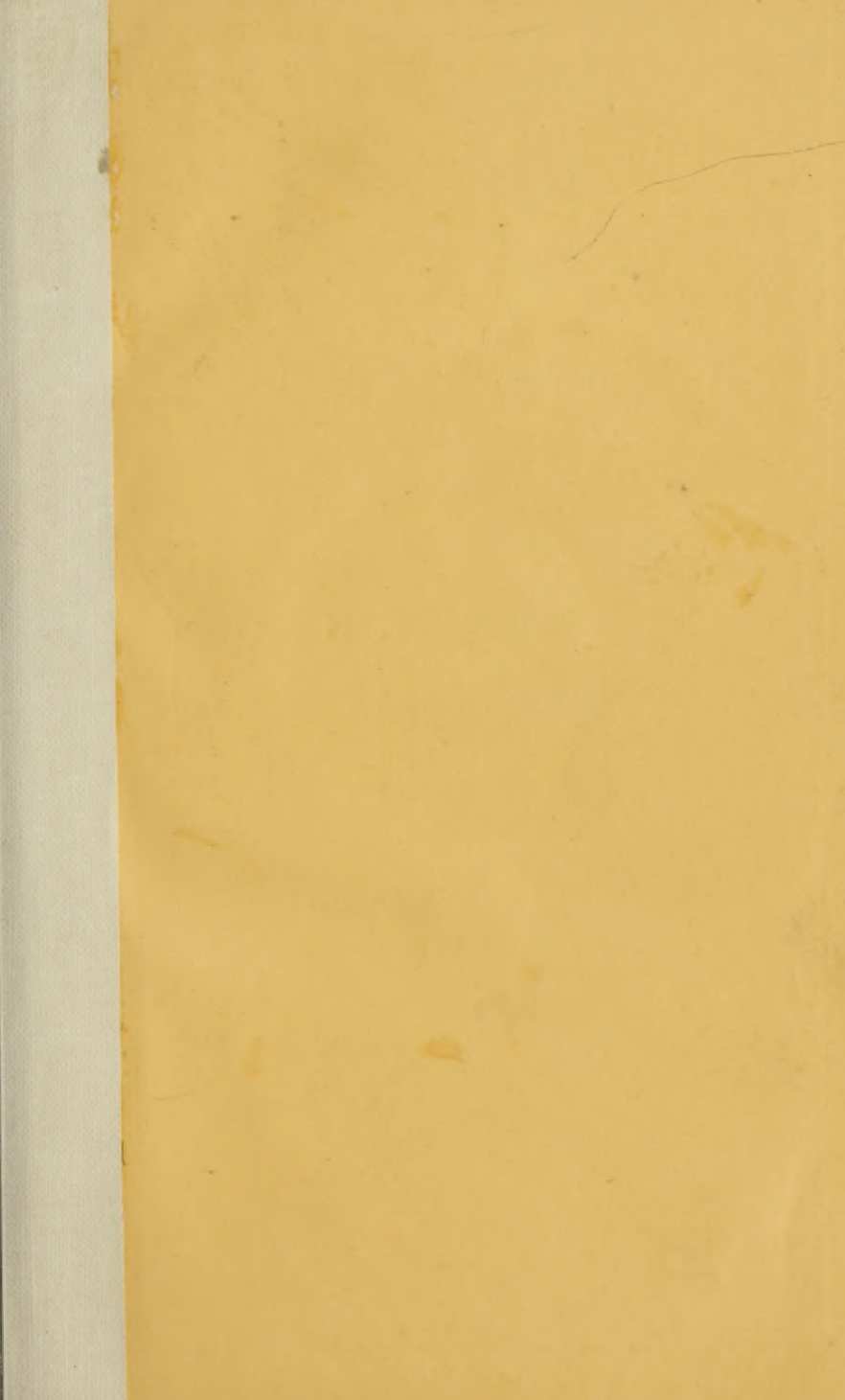





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AESCHINES  
IN CTESIPHONTA.



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(ΑΙΣΧΙΝΟΥ

ΚΑΤΑ ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ)

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ÆSCHINES, the orator

IN CTESIPHONTA

EDITED WITH NOTES AND INDICES

BY

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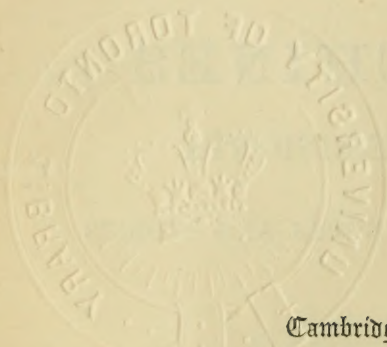
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## PREFACE.

ABOUT ten years ago Mr Gwatkin undertook to edit this Oration. The stereotyped text had been revised and settled by him ; notes on about the first 160 sections had been set up in type, and were waiting for final correction, when Mr Gwatkin unfortunately found that the pressure of other engagements made it hopeless for him to finish the work. The publishers some time last year therefore asked me to undertake the completion of the edition, as having recently been engaged on a revision of the speech of Demosthenes which was made in answer to it. I have now done what I could in compliance with this wish. The notes in type have been finally revised by me alone for the press ; and therefore if there are any errors in them the blame must be mine, while Mr Gwatkin should be credited with the great learning and industry implied in their composition.

For the notes on the last 100 sections I am wholly responsible, as well as for those on the text, for the Introduction, Appendices, and Indices. I have been able also to introduce a certain number of changes in the text in view of more recent criticism. I fear that the result may strike some critics as not

being very homogeneous; but I hope that with whatever defects inseparable from dual authorship, which has not in this case brought with it the advantages of mutual revision, or those resulting from humana incuria, something may be found to have been done to throw light on an interesting monument of antiquity, which has been somewhat neglected owing to its necessary rivalry with a greater than itself.

The books most used have been: (1) The editions of Bremi, 1845. Baiter and Sauppe, 1839—50. Ferd. Schultz, 1865. G. and W. Simcox, 1872. C. Weidner, 1872 and 1878. F. Franke (Teubner), 1883. Rufus B. Richardson (founded on Weidner), 1889. (2) Schäfer's *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*. F. Blass *die Attische Beredsamkeit*. Schömann, *der Attische Process* (ed. 1883—7). Mitchell's *Indices Graecitatis in Oratores Atticos*. Meisterhans, *Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften* (1888). L. Leutz, *die Präposition bei den Attischen Rednern* (1886—8). R. C. Jebb, *Attic Orators* (1876). J. P. Mahaffy, *Greek Literature* (1883).

Thirlwall's *History* is constantly referred to, as well as that of Grote (ed. 1869); Shilleto's edition of the *de Falsa Legatione* has also been considerably used, as well as the usual Dictionaries of Antiquities and Biography. For persons no better help can be desired than Pape's *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (1884).

The fact of the text being stereotyped, as I said, prevented the introduction of large alterations. I am not altogether sorry for it. A diligent study

of the bold and numerous emendations introduced into the text by Weidner has not encouraged, but rather deterred me from any wish to rival such a performance. The manuscripts no doubt are far from perfect ; but they contain generally the oldest and most authentic testimony which we possess, and when we once decide to treat their authority with contempt, we are left face to face with a problem which, to say the least of it, we have somewhat insufficient means of solving.

EVELYN S. SHUCKBURGH.

*Cambridge, 1890.*





## INTRODUCTION.

AESCHINES was a man of brilliant natural gifts, who played a part in a great national crisis perhaps not much less creditably than most of his contemporaries, but whose misfortune it has been to have been matched with a consummate artist, and to have left work which it is for ever impossible to view except in comparison with that of his greater rival. Thus in spite of his natural facility, his vivid presentation of facts, and the strength of his denunciation, his oratory remains that of an amateur (οὐ πάνυ ἔντεχνος<sup>1</sup>); while that of Demosthenes in comparison has the advantage of genius trained by the principles of art and the discipline of experience. Aeschines would have been the first to acknowledge this. He often warns his hearers against the professional artifices of Demosthenes<sup>2</sup>; while he describes himself as being an unprofessional speaker, who had merely had the education and followed only the pursuits of an ordinary citizen, without any claim to special genius or great acquirements<sup>3</sup>: and when he was afterwards requested by the Rhodians to teach them the art of Rhetoric, according to the biographers, he replied that he did not know it himself<sup>4</sup>. But we may easily exagge-

<sup>1</sup> Dionysius *de vet. Script.*

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. in *Ctesiph.* § 200; in *Timarch.* § 170.

<sup>3</sup> ἰδιώτης ὢν καὶ τοῖς μετρίοις ὑμῶν ὅμοιος...παρ' ὑμῶν ἐτράφην, ἐν ταῖς ὑμετέραις διατριβαῖς βεβίωκα, *de F. Leg.* § 181—2.

<sup>4</sup> ἔνθα δεομένων Ῥοδίων τὴν τέχνην αὐτοὺς διδάξαι τὴν ῥητορικὴν, ἀρνήσασθαι εἰπόντα μὴδ' αὐτὸν εἶδέναι. *Vit. Aesch. Auct. Incert.*

rate this view of Aeschines. Though he was not a professional λογογράφος, he lived in an age when everyone who aspired to have any influence in public affairs was an orator with more or less knowledge of technical rules. Few men of ordinary cultivation in our day would be incapable, if compelling circumstances arose, of expressing their views in a fairly readable Magazine Article; and few educated Athenians of the age of the Orators would under like circumstances be incapable of composing a speech more or less conforming to the rules of art. And though Aeschines may have had only the ordinary training of a respectable citizen, he was not a man of ordinary genius; and when he attempted oratory, as the obvious weapon of political life, shewed at once that, with the defects of the amateur,—such as an occasional writer may display in comparison with a trained journalist,—he had the root of the matter in him. If we turn from the question of artistic excellence, leaving the palm undisputed in the possession of Demosthenes, and consider the moral qualities displayed by the two orators, it seems more difficult to decide. Partisan feeling is not quite dead after more than 2000 years. Historians, who believe in the patriotic virtue and the political sagacity of Demosthenes, must needs denounce the invectives of Aeschines as audacious fictions or malignant calumnies: yet it would not be difficult to convict Demosthenes of perversions of fact not less shameless; and certainly nothing in all literature, except perhaps certain passages in Cicero's Second Philippic, is to be found more deliberately malicious, and more in violation (as it would seem to us) of every principle of good taste or humanity, than the celebrated description of Aeschines' mother in the *de Corona*. But such comparisons are not very fruitful. The change of sentiment in our age in regard to such mutual recriminations is in some respects so great, that it is not now easy to make the necessary abatement in forming our estimate of the character of the man who

could utter such words without loss of self-respect or of reputation among his contemporaries. It seems best to put them as far from us as we can, and to endeavour to glean from the speeches on both sides, as well as from other sources, such facts as may enable us to conceive of the man himself, his conduct, and his place in literature.

Aeschines<sup>2</sup>, of the deme Cothodicae of the tribe Oeneis, was a son of Atrometus and Glaucothea. His father was 94 years old in B.C. 343, and had therefore seen a remarkable series of events at Athens. Born five years before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war he had seen Athens at the height of her power, and in the hour of her direst distress; as well as her partial rise again to something of her old position, after Cimon's victories and restoration of her walls (B.C. 394—3). The war had cost him, we are not told how,

*Olymp* 97.  
B.C. 389.  
*Birth and*  
*parentage of*  
*Aeschines.*

<sup>1</sup> In his speech in *Tim.* § 49 Aeschines says that he was in his 45th year, i.e. in B.C. 345.

<sup>2</sup> The sources for a life of Aeschines, meagre enough, are (1) His own speeches, and the *de Falsa Legatione* and *de Corona* of Demosthenes. (2) A biography in the *Lives of the Ten Orators* attributed to Plutarch. (3) Two biographies, one by Apollonius of Alabanda (?) of the 1st century B.C., and another by some unknown grammarian. (4) Philostratus *Vit. Sophist.* 1, 18. (5) Two short articles in Suidas. (6) Two notices in Photius *Bibliotheca*, cod. 61 and 264. Of these the most ancient seems to be that of the Pseudo-Plutarch; next to that the most independent and fair is that of Apollonius, for he at least gives Aeschines' own view of himself as well as that of Demosthenes.

Of modern books, besides the various Greek Histories, such as those of Thirlwall, Grote, and Curtius, accounts of Aeschines will be found in A. Westermann, *Historia Graec. Eloq.* § 58—9; F. Blass, *die Attische Beredsamkeit*, vol. III. pt. II. p. 129 sqq.; Schäfer, *Demosthenes und seine Zeit* (throughout the three volumes); Prof. Mahaffy, *Greek Literature*, vol. II. p. 393 sqq.; Prof. Jebb, *Attic Orators*, vol. II. p. 293 sqq.

his means of livelihood, and had prevented him from following his favourite pursuit of training for the great games. He had shared in the banishment of the constitutional party by the Thirty in B.C. 404—3, and in its return<sup>1</sup>. He seems to have been then engaged in some of those military operations in Asia Minor which followed the attack of Tissaphernes or the Ionian cities in B.C. 399; but in what capacity and under what commander we are not told, though his son says that he distinguished himself for personal bravery<sup>2</sup>. The mother of our Orator was Glaucothea (or, as it is sometimes found, Glaucis or Leucothea),—daughter of Glaucos of Acharnae, and sister of Cleobulus. It seems certain that neither Atrometus nor Glaucothea were members of wealthy or distinguished families, and Aeschines nowhere makes any such claim. Yet his father's family was not mean; it belonged to a phratry which used the same altars with the Eteobutadae (a family of some distinction which was accustomed to supply the Priestess of Athene Polias<sup>3</sup>), and therefore was no doubt more or less remotely connected with it in blood. And though Atrometus was poor, Aeschines appears to have had the ordinary education of a boy of respectable parents. He was strong and vigorous in body, and after attaining the legal age for the *docimasia*<sup>4</sup> (about 15) might

<sup>1</sup> Aeschin. *F. L.* §§ 78, 147.

<sup>2</sup> ἀριστεύειν ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις. The name Atrometus is shortened by Demosthenes (*de Cor.* § 129) to Tromes. Apollonius says that this latter was his original name, which he improved by the addition of the first syllable. This is possible, as the name Tromes (trembler) would be looked upon as ill-omened.

<sup>3</sup> Aeschines, *F. L.* § 147. For the Eteobutadae, see Harpocrat. *s. v.*, Athenaeus 6, 244 e. It was a proverb of those who boasted of high birth to say ἐξ Ἑτεοβουταδῶν ἔλκει τὸ γένος. Apostolius, 7, 52.

<sup>4</sup> See Append. B.



have devoted some year or two to the athletic exercises which were the customary employment of youths between the time of puberty and that of full citizenship. But, according to his own statement, he served at once for two years in the local guard or militia, the *περίπολοι*, in which every freeman had to do one, or perhaps two, years duty<sup>1</sup>. His father seems meanwhile to have been keeping a boys' school to support his family, which consisted of three sons, Philochares, Aeschines and Aphobetus; and Demosthenes thinks it a telling subject of reproach to remark that Aeschines as a boy assisted his father in the school<sup>2</sup>. It seems to be between this period and about B.C. 367 that Aeschines began to exert himself to gain his own living. Having a clear and excellent voice (*λαμπρόφωνος*) and good personal appearance, he obtained employment as clerk (*γραμματεὺς*), first apparently to some of the inferior magistrates and then to the Ecclesia<sup>3</sup>. And it seems probable that it was also in this period that he endeavoured to utilise his

*Aeschines in  
the περίπολοι  
B.C. 373—2 (?)*

*Clerk and  
Actor.*

<sup>1</sup> There was a tradition that Aeschines attended the lectures of Plato and Isocrates; but his biographers deny it. Demetrius Phalereus even said that he was a pupil of Socrates, who died ten years before his birth. The whole tradition seems to depend upon a confusion with the Socratic Aeschines the son of Lysanias [Plat. *Apol.* c. 22.]

<sup>2</sup> Dem. *de F. Leg.* 258. His assertion (*id.* 129) that Atrometus (or Tromes, as he calls him) was a slave assisting Elpias in the school seems mere malice.

<sup>3</sup> What truth there may be in the repeated assertion of Demosthenes that Aeschines' mother was a priestess in certain disreputable private mysteries, and that he assisted her in them, we cannot tell. Aeschines never denies or notices the insult, though he asserts the respectability of her family. There was probably therefore some fact on which the assertion is founded, and of which Demosthenes has given the most hostile interpretation possible.

good voice by joining a company of Tragic Actors, who played both in Athens and the provinces. The Actors with whom he was associated were the best of the day; but he never seems to have risen to taking the chief parts, and was compelled to leave the stage owing apparently to an accident. When playing the part of Oenomaus and pursuing Pelops he stumbled and fell, had to be assisted to his feet by the Chorus-master Sannio, and was consequently hissed off the stage<sup>1</sup>.

But events in Greece, between the 13th and 23rd year of the life of Aeschines, were leading up to such measures on the part of Athens as were likely to give him the opportunity of distinguishing himself in other scenes. A revival of her old maritime supremacy, though on a much reduced scale, had been commenced in B.C. 378 by the formation of the new League of states, whose synedri were to meet at Athens, and whose contribution or syntaxis was to be paid into the Athenian exchequer for the support of the common interests. The Spartan supremacy in the various Hellenic cities, always oppressive and unpopular, and rendered odious for the last nine years by the disgraceful concessions to Persia of the peace of Antalcidas (B.C. 387), was systematically attacked, until by the Peace of Callias, early in B.C. 371, it was practically brought to an end. But the battle of Leuctra shortly afterwards in the same year changed the position of affairs. Sparta was no longer formidable; but the Theban Government interfered in every direction. Its policy in the Peloponnese might have been viewed with comparative indifference at Athens; but the establishment of a Theban supremacy in Euboea was a menace to the Athenians which they could not bear with equanimity.

<sup>1</sup> See the first Life. Mahaffy comments on this, 'a very likely misfortune to happen on the Greek stage, with the unnatural padding and heightening of the human form'.

And when the restoration of Mantinea, and the foundation of Megalopolis by Epaminondas threatened Sparta with the formidable opposition of an Arcadian Union, the Athenians listened to the request of the now humbled Sparta and made with her an offensive and defensive alliance. An Athenian force was despatched [B.C. 370—369] to hold the line of the Oneian range and prevent the march of Epaminondas into Peloponnese. Epaminondas forced his way through and was soon after rewarded by the adhesion of Sicyon. But Phlius remained faithful to Sparta, and was consequently subjected to a succession of attacks. The war went on in a desultory fashion for two years; the Spartans were supported by a contingent sent by Dionysius of Syracuse, and inflicted a defeat upon the Arcadians [the 'Tearless Battle' B.C. 368]. Then followed the second expedition of Epaminondas into Peloponnese, which combined the cities for a time in hostility to Sparta; though his departure was followed by fresh disturbances. No city had suffered more than Phlius. It was subjected to attacks from Sicyon, which was allied with Thebes, from Argos, Pellene, and Arcadia. But it held to Sparta, in spite of the periodical wasting of its crops and other hardships which its people had to endure, and won more than one success over its invaders. In B.C. 368 the Athenian general Chares was stationed at Corinth with an army partly of mercenaries and partly of Athenian citizens, and aided the Phliasians in conveying the provisions to their town rendered necessary by the wasting of their own territory. Among the Athenian youths serving under Chares was Aeschines (aet. 23), and in an engagement in the dry bed of the stream Nemea, where an ambuscade of the enemy was forced, he behaved (he says) with such gallantry as to receive the public commendation of the commanders<sup>1</sup>.

B.C. 370.  
*Alliance  
with Sparta.*

*Battle at the  
bed of the  
Nemea B.C.  
367.*

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. *F. L.* 168 *περὶ τὴν Νεμεάδα καλουμένην χαράδραν.*



Of what Aeschines was doing for the next four years we have no information. Chares was hastily summoned home in the next year on account of the sudden seizure of Oropus by some exiles in the interests of Thebes. Aeschines probably accompanied him; but no fighting took place. The Athenian expedition returned finding that none of the allies came to its assistance, and the question of Oropus was left to be decided by arbitration<sup>1</sup>. The attention of the Athenians was now turned in a different direction. While Corinth and Phlius made a separate peace with Thebes, the Athenians entered upon negotiations with the Persian king Artaxerxes to have Amphipolis declared Athenian territory. In this they were successful. But Amphipolis had to be won by arms in spite of the Royal rescript. Timotheus was sent out with a fleet, and in the course of the years B.C. 365 and 364 conquered Samos, established Athenian authority in part of the Chersonese, and made himself master of many towns in Chalcidice. But he failed to take Amphipolis; and when he turned to attack the Thracian Cotys, in order to secure the Athenian hold on the Chersonese, he found himself threatened by a Theban fleet which Epaminondas had persuaded his countrymen to send with him, in order to defeat the aggrandizement of the Athenian power,—an interposition in a new sphere of energy, which, though it did not lead to any marked success on the part of the Thebans, caused great bitterness of feeling in Athens. In the same year Pelopidas led a Theban army into Thessaly to attack the tyrant

*The Thebans  
in Oropus  
B.C. 366.*

*The expedition of Timotheus  
B.C. 365—4.*

*Epaminondas in the  
Hellespont  
B.C. 363.*

Xenophon, *Hell.* 7, 2, 15, 20 [in 4, 2, 15 he calls it ἡ χαράδρα.] Grote x. 31,—Diod. Sic. [xv. 75] says that Chares defeated the Argives in *two* battles. If Aeschines had been in both he would probably have mentioned it.

<sup>1</sup> Xen. *Hell.* 4, 1, 1.



Alexander of Pherae. This expedition, though it cost the life of Pelopidas, was eminently successful. *Death of Pelopidas in Thessaly B.C. 363.* Alexander had to submit to Theban supremacy, as had all the cities of Thessaly.

Such being the formidable nature of the Theban power, and its animus being so decidedly hostile to Athens<sup>1</sup>, it was natural that the Athenians should be ready to oppose the extension of its influence. The opportunity soon came. While the events alluded to above had been taking place, the Peloponnese had been torn by intrigues. Sparta wanted to recover Messene, the Eleians Triphylia. Thus in B.C. 366—5 there was war between Elis and the Arcadians, which brought on an invasion of Arcadia by the Spartans (B.C. 365), and a battle near Olympia, at the very time of the Festival, between the Eleians (who had been excluded) and the Arcadians (B.C. 364). The Arcadians seized the treasures at Olympia to pay their men, and then fell to quarrelling among themselves. The general result in the Arcadian towns was the increased power of the wealthier classes, who could alone afford to devote themselves to the war, and a consequent inclination manifested to make terms with Sparta; while the opposite party sent pressing invitations to Thebes to come and prevent such a settlement (B.C. 363—2). The anti-Theban party in Arcadia protested against the sending of a Theban army without invitation, and contrived to get a peace between themselves and Elis confirmed in the Pan-Arcadian assembly (B.C. 362). The view of these proceedings held by Epaminondas and the Theban Government was that the Arcadians were guilty of treason to them in making a peace

<sup>1</sup> In advising hostility to Athens, as the dangerous rival now that Sparta was humbled, Epaminondas was reported to have said *ὡς δεῖ τὰ τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλεως προπύλαια μετενεγκεῖν εἰς τὴν προστασίαν τῆς Καδμείας*. Aesch. F. L. § 105.

without their concurrence; and that it would inevitably break down what it had been their policy to set up,—a power in Peloponnese capable of counteracting the claims of Sparta. A fresh invasion was therefore decided upon:

*Battle of  
Mantineia  
B.C. 362.*

and in the spring of B.C. 362 Epaminondas marched to Tegea, and was there joined by his Peloponnesian allies. The Spartans under Agesilaus were stationed at Mantineia, which, further north on the road from Sparta than Tegea, had to be reached by them along a circuitous route. After an unsuccessful attempt at surprising Sparta itself, Epaminondas was obliged to give battle at Mantineia, which lay between him and home. Immediately after his return from the unsuccessful attempt on Sparta he sent his cavalry on to surprise Mantineia. This he would have effected, if it had not been for the opportune appearance of the Athenians, who had marched through the Isthmus, and appeared on the brow of the hill just as the Theban cavalry came in sight<sup>1</sup>. The next day the battle was fought, in which Epaminondas fell. Though the victory was with the Thebans, the death of that great man nullified its effects, and a peace was made which practically ended the Theban supremacy. Aeschines (act. 27) fought at Mantineia, as he affirms, with honour and in a manner worthy the city; yet, according to Diodorus, the Athenian cavalry, though behaving well, were as a matter of fact beaten and forced from their ground, until supported by the Eleian cavalry<sup>2</sup>.

The three years which follow (B.C. 362—359) are a blank as far as our knowledge of the life of Aeschines goes. The Athenians were busied in Thrace with Cersobleptes<sup>3</sup>, the successor of Cotys, but there is no indication

<sup>1</sup> Polyb. 9, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Diodor. xv. 85.

<sup>3</sup> Grote x. p. 136 sqq.

of Aeschines being in service there. In B.C. 359 the crown of Macedonia was obtained by Philip II., an event which was to have so decisive an influence on all Greek politics, and was so largely to affect among others the career of our Orator. *Philip II. becomes king of Macedonia between the summer of B.C. 359 and 358.*

In B.C. 358 however the arms of Athens found employment nearer home. After the battle of Leuctra (B.C. 371) the Theban supremacy had been exercised in Euboea to the detriment of the Athenian interests, in whose League of 378 B.C. most of the Euboean towns had shared. The seizure also of Oropus by exiles in B.C. 366, already mentioned, had been effected at the instigation of Themison of Eretria<sup>1</sup>, and was a mark of the animus of the anti-Athenian and philo-Theban party. But, as usual in Greek states, the opposition to the dominant party grew in intensity with time, and when the prestige of Thebes sank gradually after the death of Epaminondas (362 B.C.), it soon became possible for Athens to once more assert her influence in the island.

In B.C. 358 the Thebans sent a force into Euboea to surprise the rising party of opposition to them. Urgent messages were sent to Athens for help; and with unusual promptitude a fleet and army was despatched within five days, apparently under the chief command of Timotheus, Diocles and Chares having also commands in the expedition, which in 30 days reduced the Theban army to retire under terms<sup>2</sup>; the Euboean towns being restored to independence. In this expedition Demosthenes served as a volunteer Triarch, and Aeschines appears to have been in the army; but, as he merely states the fact without comment, we may suppose that he did not gain any special distinction.

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. in *Ctes.* § 85.

<sup>2</sup> Aeschin, *l. c.*; *F. L.* § 169.



The next nine years, though embracing events of momentous consequences to Greece, are again a blank in our knowledge of the life of Aeschines. These include the most important working time of a man's life (from 30 to 40); and as neither Aeschines nor his father was rich, we must suppose that in them he gained by some reputable employment a sufficient competence, and conducted himself in such a way as to be marked out for state employment when occasion arose. He may have again been employed as a clerk, and so gained practical acquaintance with public business<sup>1</sup>. Meanwhile Athens had been weakened by the loss of important members of the confederacy, as the result of the Social War (B.C. 358—355); but Philip had step by step been rising to be supreme in Greece. Though he did not retain his hold on Amphipolis in 359 B.C., and was nominally at peace with Athens, his successes in Thrace, and his diplomacy in the Chalcidic peninsula (B.C. 356), were gradually beginning to excite the attention and alarm of Athenian statesmen. But by the time this alarm was roused Philip had already to a great extent secured his position. The first note of warning is in the speech of Demosthenes on *the liberty of the Rhodians*<sup>2</sup>, delivered in B.C. 352, or possibly in the

*The encroaching policy of Philip.*

<sup>1</sup> There seem to have been two phases in his career as a clerk. Demosthenes speaks of it as *preceding* his employment on the stage; and this may be what Apollonius means by his *πρῶτον ὑπεγραμμάτευσε ταῖς ἀρχαῖς χρόνον τινα σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ Ἀφοβήτῳ. ἦν δὲ ἐπονείδιστον τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον.* But the writer in Photius (cod. 61) speaks of a clerkship after the stage-work, and of a more dignified kind—*ἔπειτα ἐγραμμάτευσεν τῇ βουλῇ.* So the author of the anonymous *Life* may mean this, *ὅντα δὲ λαμπρόφωνον γραμματεῦσαι Ἀριστοφῶντι καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Εὐβούλῳ. καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντα ψηφισμάτων ὁμοῦ καὶ νόμων ἔμπειρον γενόμενον ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ βήματι.*

<sup>2</sup> § 24.



following year, and by that time Philip had already secured valuable possessions in Thrace, had interfered with effect to create a strong anti-Attic confederation in the Chalcidic peninsula, had secured Pydna (358), Methone (353), Pagasae (353),—thus commanding the Macedonian and Thessalian coasts; had seized on the opportunity offered by the distracted state of central Greece, caused by the Sacred War,—which as much as the Peloponnesian war seems to merit the description given of the latter as ‘the suicide of Hellas,’—to interfere in Thessaly, and even to attempt to pass Thermopylae and enter Phocis (B.C. 352); and was on the eve of that attempt to complete his line of coast by securing the Chalcidic Peninsula, which called forth the Olynthiac Orations of Demosthenes (B.C. 349).

It was in these circumstances that the Athenians undertook a second interference in Euboea, by sending an expedition thither under the command of Phocion, in which Aeschines shared, and in which he gained a substantial increase of reputation. It was caused by the request of Plutarchus, now despot of Eretria, who professed to be acting in the Athenian interests against intrigues promoted by Philip. Demosthenes appears to have suspected the honesty of Plutarchus and accordingly opposed the sending of the expedition<sup>1</sup>. But it was supported by the party of Eubulus, and was despatched in February. Phocion found nothing but treachery in Euboea, and he and his army appear to have been in extreme peril, and to have been drawn into a dangerous position near Tamynae<sup>2</sup>, a town of uncertain site some few miles South of Eretria. There the enemy’s army under Callias of Chalcis, assisted by a small force sent by Philip, attacked, and by the rashness or treason of

<sup>1</sup> Dem. *in Mid.* § 110, *de Pace* § 4, *πρῶτος καὶ μόνος παρήλ-  
θον. ἀντείπον καὶ μόνον οὐ διεσπάρσθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ μικροῖς λήμμασι  
πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ὑμᾶς ἀμαρτάνειν πεισάντων.*

<sup>2</sup> Aesch. *in Ctes.* § 87.

Plutarchus nearly inflicted a defeat on Phocion's army. The day was saved however by the picked Athenian troops (*οἱ ἐπίλεκτοι*), and among them Aeschines (aet. 39) so distinguished himself, as to be selected to take the news of the victory home to Athens, where he received the reward of a crown<sup>1</sup>.

He now had acquired sufficient reputation to be intrusted with serious public duties; and now first seems to have come forward definitely as an active politician. While the expedition in Euboea was taking place Philip had been actively engaged in Chalcidice; he first took a town there in B.C. 349, and early in B.C. 348 had taken Olynthus, Demosthenes in vain urging his countrymen to send relief; and finally destroyed the Chalcidic towns, selling 10,000 of the inhabitants into slavery. Though so supine in supporting the Chalcidians, the Athenians did take some steps to secure a league in the South, to resist Philip if he followed up his successes in the North by attempting interference in Peloponnesus. Aeschines (aet. 40—1) seems to have been prominent at this time in denouncing the intrigues of Philip, especially in Arcadia<sup>2</sup>; and accordingly was despatched with others on a mission thither. He pleaded for a combination against Philip before the 'ten-thousand' at Megalopolis<sup>3</sup>, where he was answered by Hieronymus speaking in the interests of Philip. He gave a flourishing account of his arguments on his return; and moved great indignation by the description of a piteous spectacle which he had witnessed on his way

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Phocion*, XII.—XIII. Aesch. *F. L.* 169. Grote, XI. 144. Thirlwall, v. 262.

<sup>2</sup> Dem. *F. L.* § 10, ἔστι τοίνυν οὗτος ὁ πρῶτος Ἀθηναίων αἰσθόμενος Φίλιππον, ὡς τότε δημηγορῶν ἔφη, ἐπιβουλεύοντα τοῖς Ἑλλήσι καὶ διαφθεύροντά τινας τῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ προεστηκότων.

<sup>3</sup> Aesch. *F. L.* § 157 ὁ τοὺς μυρίους Ἀρκαδῶν νουθετῶν. Dem. l. c.

back. He saw one Atrestidas travelling with a company of Olynthian captives, about 30 women and boys, brought from the Macedonian court; and he denounced Philip's cruelty in the bitterest terms<sup>1</sup>. He acknowledges himself that he did all he could to incite the Arcadians to join the Athenians in a war against Philip<sup>2</sup>, and he justifies his subsequent change of policy by alleging that he found the utmost diversity of sentiment and action in Peloponnese; and that while none were willing really to help Athens, some were actually ready to join in the attack upon her, and many were looking upon the war as a means of enriching themselves. In these circumstances he advised the people to make the peace.

Convinced therefore that a peace with Philip was necessary he consented to serve among the ten ambassadors who in November, B.C. 347, were elected on the motion of Philokrates to treat with him. Informal negotiations had already taken place; and various reports of Philip's pacific inclinations had reached Athens. But besides this there was grave reason to fear that he would soon be much nearer than ever to the Attic frontier. The Thebans in B.C. 347 had invoked his aid against the Phocians, to put an end to the Sacred War; and a Macedonian army was already besieging Halus in Thessaly: and the Phocians in alarm sent to the Athenians begging them to occupy the pass of Thermopylae. But Phalaecus, the chief man in Phocis, did not join in this wish; and refused to allow the Athenian general Proxenus to take possession of the pass<sup>3</sup>. Thus

*First embassy to Philip with proposals of peace B.C. 346 (February).*

<sup>1</sup> Demosth. *F. L.* § 348. Aesch. *F. L.* § 79. Thirlwall, v. 326; Grote, xi. 171.

<sup>2</sup> *F. L.* § 79. The Pseudo-Plutarch seems to attribute to Aeschines' conduct of this negotiation the beginning of his public reputation.

<sup>3</sup> Aesch. *F. L.* 133. Aeschines would not be serving with Proxenus, as it was only οἱ μέχρι τριάκοντα ἔτη who were ordered



both parties were inclined to make terms,—the Athenians because they dreaded that by the weakness or treachery of Phalaecus Philip would become master of Phocis, and Philip because his chief object was to secure a hold on Thermopylae, with the ulterior purpose of making himself master of Phocis; and, in order to do so, wished to have the opposition of Athens out of the way. These events happened at the end of B.C. 347. By February in the next year the ten Athenian ambassadors were ready to start to visit Philip<sup>1</sup>. Their names were Ctesiphon, Aristodemus, Phrynon, Iatrocles, Philocrates, Demosthenes, Aeschines, Nausicles, Dercylus and Cimon, along with Aglaocreon of Tenedos, to represent the allies whose synedri met at Athens in virtue of the league of 378.

The purpose of this embassy—which was to be the turning point in the career of Aeschines and in his relations with Demosthenes—was not to make the peace, but to ascertain from Philip on what terms the peace could be made. The points on which anxiety was felt may be summed up in the two words—Thrace and Phocis. In regard to the first the Athenians had two objects, (1) to secure that Philip should not attempt to oust them from the Chersonese, and (2) that as regards the rest of Thrace he should not entirely destroy the position of their ally Cersobleptes, and should restore to them the possession of Amphipolis. As to Phocis, the

*First embassy  
to Philip B.C.  
346.*

on this service. Phalaecus, instead of giving up the posts which secured the pass,—Alponus, Thronium, and Nicaea,—even imprisoned the Phocian ambassadors who had been to Athens.

<sup>1</sup> Among the reasons inducing the Athenians to consent to this embassy was the fact that Philip had been behaving with great liberality in the matter of the release of various Athenian citizens who had fallen into his hands, especially in respect to those for whose release Aristodemus had been sent to negotiate.



question was whether they could make such a peace as could prevent Philip's passage of Thermopylae, and his interference—in accordance with the invitation of Thebes—in the Sacred War, to the destruction of their allies the Phocians. Of what actually occurred on it we have only the account given by Aeschines himself<sup>1</sup>, in one of the most graphic narratives to be found in the remains of Attic Oratory. Demosthenes in his speech in the prosecution of Aeschines has little or nothing to say on it; for his charge against him does not relate to his conduct then, but to that of a subsequent period,—his report at Athens and his conduct on the second embassy. Besides, if the account of Aeschines is to be accepted, Demosthenes would have good reason for touching as lightly as possible on the details of the first embassy.

According to Aeschines, then, Demosthenes took pains on the way to Pella to cultivate intimacy with himself, and with Aglaocreon and Iatrocles, and to warn them against the dishonesty of Philocrates, though he had been actually nominated ambassador by him. He made himself also disagreeable and offensive in various ways during the journey, and spoke boastfully of the 'inexhaustible fountain of arguments' whereby he would confound Philip and close up his mouth 'with an unsoaked rush,' and would persuade him to restore Amphipolis. But when they were admitted to an audience with Philip these vainglorious boasts were falsified. The ambassadors had arranged that they would address Philip in order of age, and accordingly Demosthenes was to speak last. Aeschines, when his turn came, says that he addressed Philip in a speech of considerable length, in which he dwelt on the old friendship between his ancestors and Athens, and the support which he himself had received from her in the early days of his reign, and

*Demosthenes  
and Aeschines  
on the  
first embassy  
together.*

<sup>1</sup> F. L. § 20—43.

what an ill-return had been made to the city by his guardian Ptolemy in the matter of Amphipolis. On the subject of Amphipolis, he then tried to shew how it had been from time immemorial acknowledged as an Athenian possession, and had been formally allowed to be so by Philip's own father Amyntas.

'After this and some other speeches it came to the turn of Demosthenes to speak. Every one was on the alert expecting a superb display of oratory; for, as we heard afterwards, Philip himself as well as his courtiers had been informed of his extravagant professions. With an audience thus all expectation, up gets this creature, and, after a prelude obscurely expressed and dead with fear, before he had got far on with his subject, suddenly became silent, hesitated, and finally broke down altogether. Seeing his condition Philip intreated him not to be alarmed, and not to imagine that such a contretemps had the same effect as it would have in a theatre. 'Pray,' said he, 'take your time, recollect yourself at your ease, and deliver what you intended to say.' But having once got confused, and lost the thread of his notes, he could not recover himself; tried once more to resume his speech, and once more broke down. There was a general silence; and the herald bade us withdraw. But when we ambassadors were alone together, our admirable Demosthenes with a very gloomy expression of countenance said that I had ruined the city and the allies. When the other ambassadors no less than myself expressed astonishment at this, and demanded why he said so, he asked me whether I had forgotten the state of affairs at Athens, and that the people were in extreme distress and very anxious for the peace. 'Or do you,' said he, 'plume yourself on the fifty ships that have been voted but will never be manned? For you have irritated Philip; and the result of what you have said will not be that war gives place to peace, but peace to war, though not open war.'

Aeschines' reply was interrupted by a second summons to the presence of Philip, who, as he asserts, addressed his answer almost entirely to his speech, without making any reference to Demosthenes, at which the latter orator was deeply chagrined.

'But when we were on our way home from our mission 'all of a sudden he began much to our surprise to talk to 'each one of us with an air of affectionate politeness. I 'never knew before the meaning of the words 'monkey,' 'downy,' 'jack o' both sides.' Thanks to his instruction 'however there is no knavery that I do not understand now. 'Taking each of us separately aside in turn, he promised to 'get up a subscription for one, assistance in his private 'business to another, election as strategus to another: 'while as for me, he kept following me about with congra- 'tulations on my extraordinary ability, and praises of the 'speech I had delivered, until I was tired and bored with 'his compliments. And when we were all dining together 'at Larissa he kept jesting at himself and the fiasco he 'had made of his speech, declaring Philip to be the clever- 'est man under the sun; and when I capped this by some 'remark about his having shown a wonderfully good me- 'mory in his answer to our speeches; and when Ctesiphon, 'the eldest of us, said that old as he was and many as 'were the years he had lived, he had never seen anyone 'so agreeable and charming, our Sisyphus clapped his 'hands and remarked 'Neither you nor our friend here' '(meaning me), 'Ctesiphon, would venture to tell the Athe- 'nians that Philip was a clever speaker and had a good 'memory!'—Being quite off our guard and having no 'suspicion of the trap he was setting for us, which I will 'explain to you presently, he induced us to enter into a 'kind of arrangement that we *would* tell you these impres- 'sions of ours; and in my case he added an earnest 'intreaty that I would not forget to say that Demosthenes 'had as well as myself put in a word about Amphipolis<sup>1</sup>.'

<sup>1</sup> F. L. § 40—43.



This is the way in which Aeschines accounts for the favourable terms in which he among others made his report of the interview with Philip ; and he proceeds to describe his astonishment when Demosthenes got up, and, affirming that the only report needed was the letter from Philip which he had sent in answer to their mission, proceeded to contradict in detail the impressions of Philip's personal ability and charm which Ctesiphon and Aeschines (according to agreement, as Aeschines says) had described. It is perhaps too much to believe that Aeschines was of such guileless simplicity as to be taken in entirely by such a device on the part of Demosthenes as he describes ; and at any rate he condemns himself in owning to having given a report on any one's suggestion, rather than on his own genuine impression ; and Grote further criticises his conduct as an ambassador by remarking, that it does not speak well for his good sense if he made Amphipolis the main subject of his address to Philip. Amphipolis had been too long in Philip's hands, and it was too valuable to him as covering the rich goldfields of Pangaeus, to allow of any chance of its restoration. The two points that were really of importance, and within the range of practical politics, were to keep Philip out of the Chersonese, and North of Thermopylae. The former might be effected by a peace arranged on the basis of a *status quo*, each party keeping the towns actually in their possession ; the second could only be secured by including the Phocians in the number of the Athenian allies, who were not to be attacked henceforward. But to do this was for the Athenians to range themselves in opposition to Thebes and all the members of the Amphictyonic League, who were prepared to use to the utmost the help of Philip for the punishment of these hated enemies. And though Philip wished to disarm the enmity and opposition of Athens, he had no intention, as soon appeared, of covenanting himself out of the right of acting as champion of the Amphictyonic Council, and



putting an end to the Sacred War by crushing Phocis if necessary. The peace now recommended in consequence of the embassy of the ten really gave up this point: for Phocis was to be left out of the treaty; that is, Athens formally renounced any obligation to assist the Phocians, whatever measures the Amphictyonic Council, or Philip acting in its name, might choose to take against them. Even the security of the Chersonese was weakened; for though Philip was debarred by the treaty from attacking towns in it belonging to Athens, yet his hands were left freer by the Thracian Cersobleptes, whose son was a hostage in Philip's hands, not being included in the Athenian alliance, but making terms separately. This in fact left Philip free to act in all parts of Thrace, except the Chersonese, wholly without reference to Athens.

The Peace, therefore, was not very glorious or satisfactory to the Athenians: and such no doubt the orators felt to be the case, though it was impossible to deny that, unless the people were willing to fling in their forces boldly with the Phocians, and risk all in an armed opposition to Thebes and Philip, which their mistrust of the Phocian leader Phalaecus, if nothing else, prevented, some peace was necessary. It was in these circumstances that Demosthenes charges Aeschines with his first act of tergiversation. According to a decree proposed by Demosthenes himself there were to be two meetings of the assembly; in the first the subject of the Peace was to be debated, in the second the votes were to be taken. In the first Demosthenes says that Aeschines vehemently opposed the peace proposed by Philocrates, saying that 'while a single Athenian remained alive he would never advise this peace, although a peace of some sort was necessary': but that on the second day he took quite the opposite view, spoke vehemently on the other side, exhorted the Athenians 'not to be for ever dwelling on the glories of their ancestors, nor

*Acceptance  
of the terms  
at Athens.  
Charge a-  
gainst Aes-  
chines of a  
change of  
policy.*

to undertake the support of other Greeks who had never supported them<sup>1</sup>.’ Aeschines replies that the charge of Demosthenes involves an impossibility, as, in accordance with his own decree, the second meeting was to be for voting and not for speaking<sup>2</sup>. But, unfortunately for this apparently telling retort of Aeschines, he himself some years later complained that at the second day’s meeting ‘Demosthenes monopolised the bema, leaving no one else anything to say; and made a speech, questioned Antipater, and carried the decree of Philocrates<sup>3</sup>.’ If this latter statement is true, and Aeschines says that he remembered it distinctly owing to certain particularly disagreeable expressions of Demosthenes, it does a good deal to destroy his first defence grounded on the fact that there was no speaking on that day. Still a statement made 16 years afterwards is less trustworthy in itself than one made when the affair was recent; and it is evident that Aeschines was at this time no more uncertain in his view than were others. He did not like the peace, and yet he feared to reject it, and warned his countrymen against rashly undertaking distant expeditions, like the disastrous invasion of Sicily; and advised them, while they emulated the glories of their ancestors, to avoid their mistakes. The two views, whether put forward on the same or on two following days, are not inconsistent, and do not necessarily imply the corruption insinuated by Demosthenes. They seem rather to indicate the divided feelings which were shared by the people at large; who would fain have opposed Philip and humbled Thebes, but were uncertain of their ability to sustain such a contest, and beguiled themselves with hopeful theories as to Philip’s real intentions. Demosthenes seems to have been conscious that at this stage of the proceedings there was little to say against Aeschines. His real denunciations are

<sup>1</sup> Dem. *F. L.* 17.

<sup>2</sup> Aeschines, *F. L.* §§ 63—5. Cp. 74—6.

<sup>3</sup> Aesch. *in Ctes.* § 71.

reserved for the conduct of the Second Embassy, which was sent to receive the sworn ratification of Philip and his allies, when the people had decreed the Peace. He charges all the ambassadors alike with treasonable delay in not proceeding at once on their mission, and thus allowing Philip to possess himself of additional strongholds in Thrace before he took the oaths; but he charges Aeschines personally with deceiving the people by a report in which he assured them that he had persuaded Philip to assent to all that especially affected the interests of the city; that in a few days they would hear of Thebes being besieged and isolated from the rest of Boeotia; of the restoration of Thespieae and Plataea; of the wealth taken from Delphi being repaid by the Thebans; and finally that, in return for the surrender of Amphipolis to Philip, he would guarantee their hold over Euboea, and something else which they had still more at heart,—meaning by this hint Oropus<sup>1</sup>. Aeschines makes but a poor answer to this charge. He tries to explain that all he said was that these things were the true interests of Athens; and that they were what he had striven for, though fortune and Philip were too strong for him: and he denies point blank,—with what truth it is impossible to say,—that he had had secret intercourse with Philip, and had acted in collusion with him in the composition of the letter which was sent back with the ambassadors and served to put the people off their guard<sup>2</sup>.

The mutual recriminations on the orators<sup>3</sup> will always

<sup>1</sup> Demosth. *F. L.* 22—25.

<sup>2</sup> Aeschines, *F. L.* 118—127.

<sup>3</sup> There was an old tradition that the speeches on the embassy, though written, were never delivered. Pseud.-Plut. vit. x. Or. 342 c εἰς δ' οἱ φασὶ συγγράψαι μὲν τοὺς ῥήτορας τοὺς λόγους, ἐμποδῶν δὲ γενομένων τῶν περὶ Χαιρώνειαν μηκέτι τὴν δίκην εἰσελθεῖν. The length of the speech of Demosthenes is certainly more fitted for a pamphlet.

*Second Embassy to take the oaths (April—June), B.C. 346.*



leave a residuum of doubt in the mind as to the true share of blame attaching to all sides alike who were engaged in the transaction: but there is no doubt that the practical result was that the Athenian people were lulled into a false security; that the Phocians found that they had no help to look for from Athens; and that Philip was able to secure Thermopylae on the surrender of the Phocian Phalaecus. On the embassy, sent to announce to Philip the Athenian abandonment of their support of the Phocians, Demosthenes refused to serve; and Aeschines was, or feigned to be, too ill to go (June, B.C. 346). But the next

*Aeschines  
visits Philip  
in Phocis.  
July, B.C. 346.*

month when Philip was already in Phocis, and was proceeding to inflict upon the Phocian cities, in the name of the Amphictyons, the penalty of their sacrilege, Aeschines recovered his health sufficiently to visit him, apparently on the strength of his original appointment as ambassador: though Demosthenes affirms that he did so without authority or commission from the people; and that then he joined in the celebration of the Pythian games under the presidency of Philip, in which the Athenians had expressly refused to take part<sup>1</sup>. Aeschines on the other hand affirms that he exerted himself successfully to save the lives of the Phocians, whom Philip was urged by others to execute, and that the exiled Bocotians and Phocians testified to the services which he had rendered to them in this their hour of supreme danger<sup>2</sup>. There is no good reason to doubt

*Was Aeschines  
treasonable or  
politic?*

this last assertion: but it does not acquit Aeschines of the main charge, that he had been won over by Philip; and, at any rate, by certain suppressions and plausible representations to the people, had played into his hands. The only defence that can be urged for him, and which, it may be, secured his acquittal by a

<sup>1</sup> Demosth. *F. L.* § 138—141.

<sup>2</sup> Aesch. *F. L.* § 142. See Grote, xi. 228. Thirlwall, vi. 5.



narrow majority<sup>1</sup>, is that he yielded to what he thought a necessity; that he had come to regard the supremacy of Philip as inevitable, and to believe that properly manipulated it might be made to yield certain advantages to distracted Hellas. Such a view we know to have been held by the venerable and respected rhetorician Isocrates, who about this time composed the address to Philip<sup>2</sup>, still extant, in which he urged him to look upon *The view of Isocrates.* himself as the champion of Greece, and to turn his arms with the whole authority of Greece at his back upon the common enemy, the king of Persia, whose power, at that time threatened by revolts in Egypt, Phoenicia and Cyprus, had recovered something of its old force, and was still holding in subjection the fair lands of the Asiatic Hellenes. Such an opportunist policy may not have been great or noble, but it was one which a practical statesman may have thought the only possible one in the circumstances: still it does not really justify tortuous intrigues and disingenuous suppressions.

Whatever may be the true account of his motives, from this time forward Aeschines is to be regarded as a persistent partisan of the Macedonian government: and, if we are to believe Demosthe- *Macedonizing policy of Aeschines from B.C. 346* nes, he was throughout this period regarded by *—339* the better part of the citizens as a traitor, a feeling which found expression in the action of the Areopagus in quashing his election as a syndic to advocate the Athenian claim to the management of Delos, tried before the Amphictyonic Council in B.C. 345<sup>3</sup>. But in the next five years there seems to have been little in the actual things done by Aeschines

<sup>1</sup> A majority of 30. He was supported by Eubulus as a *συνήγορος*, Pseudo-Plut. *vit. x. Or.* 342 c. Cp. Photius *Cod.* 61 ἄτε δὴ Εὐβούλου τοῦ δημαγωγοῦ, ᾧ ὑπηρέτησε, συναγωνισαμένου αὐτῷ.

<sup>2</sup> Isocrates, *Orat.* v.

<sup>3</sup> Demosth. *de Cor.* §§ 134—135.

that Demosthenes was able to lay hold upon. He had anticipated the prosecution, threatened against him for his conduct on the embassy, by securing the ruin, and apparently the suicide, of one of those who menaced it. In his speech *against Timarchus* (B.C. 345) he had taken occasion also, as far as possible, to prejudice his hearers against the private character of Demosthenes, and to prepare them to reject the accusation which he was about to bring against himself when he stood his audit (ἐϋθυνα) for his embassy; but of overt acts in this period Demosthenes can find nothing to attack except an instance of opposition to the patriotic side, and of support of Philip, in the case of the mission from Byzantium of the orator Python (probably in B.C. 341)<sup>1</sup>; and again his intercourse with Anaxinus, supposed to be a spy of Philip's, but whom Aeschines asserts to have been in Greece only for the peaceful purpose of making purchases for Philip's wife Olympias<sup>2</sup>. He indeed says that he has endless other cases to bring forward [μυρία τοίνυν ἔτερό' εἰπεῖν ἔχων], but that is only an oratorical *etcetera*, which may be taken to mean generally that there is nothing else which will much bear discussion.

About Midsummer B.C. 341 the peace of B.C. 346, which had covered a period in which by one action after another Philip had roused the suspicions and distrust of the Athenians, was finally brought to an end by an open declaration of war, induced by his siege of Perinthus, by his entering the Chersonese, and the capture of Athenian merchantmen by his cruisers<sup>3</sup>. The Athenians perhaps expected or hoped that the war would be fought at a distance from their territory; but the outbreak of another Sacred War soon brought Philip southward again; and this Sacred War

*Aeschines  
and the Am-  
phissian war  
B.C. 339.*

<sup>1</sup> Dem. *de Cor.* § 136.

<sup>2</sup> Dem. *de Cor.* § 137. Aesch. *in Ctes.* 123. [Plutarch] vit. x. Or. 848.

<sup>3</sup> Dem. *de Cor.* § 73. Grote, xi. 259 sqq.

Demosthenes charges Aeschines with having deliberately helped to bring about, with the express purpose of giving Philip an excuse for interference<sup>1</sup>. Aeschines on the other hand maintains that he acted on this occasion from pure zeal for the honour of the god and the sanctity of the Delphic territory, as well as from a proper feeling of indignation at the injury done to the honour of Athens: and that the act of impiety on the part of the Amphissians had been passed over by others, and among them by Demosthenes, for the sake of bribes received from Amphissa. In February B.C. 339 Aeschines was one of the Pylagorae at the spring meeting of the Amphictyonic Council at Delphi<sup>2</sup>. There he was told that the Amphissian delegates, in order to please the Thebans, were about to propose the levying of a fine upon the Athenians on the ground of their having after Plataea (479 B.C.) set up certain gilt shields in the New Temple before it was dedicated<sup>3</sup>, or, as Grote thinks, for having caused the inscription "dedicated by the Athenians, out of the spoils of Persians and Thebans engaged in joint battle against the Greeks"—to be regilded, and put up again in a new cell or chapel without the necessary ceremonies,—the insult to the Thebans being thus rendered again conspicuous. This animus on the part of the Amphissians was soon betrayed by a speech of one of their number denouncing the Athenians for having espoused the cause of the sacrilegious Phocians, and recommending that their delegates should be expelled as under a curse (*ἐναγείς*). Aeschines retaliated in a long speech in which he denounced the Amphissians for having cultivated the sacred Cirrhaean plain, which had been declared dedicate to the

<sup>1</sup> Demosth. *de Cor.* §§ 143—151 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ συγκατασκευάσας καὶ πάντων εἰς ἀνὴρ τῶν μεγίστων αἴτιος κακῶν.

<sup>2</sup> Aeschin. *in Ctes.* §§ 106—129.

<sup>3</sup> For the nature of the act here described, see notes to § 116, and Grote, xi. 275.



god, and ordered to be left fallow ever since the 1st Sacred War in the 6th century. The Amphictyons proclaimed a crusade, and were resisted in arms by the Amphissians. A fresh council was summoned,—to which on the advice of Demosthenes the Athenians refused to send delegates,—and in the spring of B.C. 338 Philip was invited by the Amphictyonic Council to come forward as their champion. With whatever motive therefore Aeschines had acted, the result of his policy had undoubtedly been to bring Philip once more South of Thermopylae. For Philip promptly availed himself of the invitation of the Amphi-

*Seizure of Elateia, and battle of Chaeroneia (August) B.C. 338.* ctyons; one evening in the spring of B.C. 338 the Athenians were startled by the news that he had seized and was fortifying Elateia, which

commanded the passes over Mount Oeta<sup>1</sup>. The news caused the most painful excitement at Athens. Philip was again close upon the Attic frontier; and there was no doubt that, if he were not stopped, before many weeks were passed he would be dictating terms in the city. For the moment his partisans were cowed, and amidst the gloomy or perhaps treasonable silence of the usual speakers Demosthenes came forward with energetic proposals for warlike preparations; urging that an alliance should be made with Thebes, and that the fortifications of Athens should be restored. Demosthenes asserts that in these circumstances Aeschines did not say a word, either by way of attacking his decree, or by way of warning to the people of the danger into which they were running<sup>2</sup>. Against this charge Aeschines has naturally little to say<sup>3</sup>, except to point to the disastrous result of the policy of Demosthenes as consummated by the battle of Chaeroneia (Aug. B.C. 338), and the death of so many citizens in that struggle.

<sup>1</sup> Dem. *de Cor.* §§ 169—179.

<sup>2</sup> Dem. *de Cor.* §§ 179—191.

<sup>3</sup> Aesch. *in Ctes.* §§ 137—147.



But though the effect of Chaeroneia was to confirm the supremacy of Philip it does not seem to have enhanced the influence of Aeschines; he was indeed put forward as the mouthpiece of a party to attack Demosthenes by prosecuting Ctesiphon for illegality in proposing to crown Demosthenes for his services (B.C. 337); yet in the seven years which elapsed between the notice given of this impeachment and the actual trial of the case (B.C. 337—330), there is no evidence of Aeschines taking a leading part in Athenian politics. Demosthenes affirms that he was in the pay of Alexander after Philip's death (B.C. 336), as he had been in that of Philip<sup>1</sup>. But whether that was so or not, when Alexander advanced into Greece in the autumn of 336, and, obtaining the submission of the cities, was nominated as his father had been two years before, commander-in-chief of all Greece for the meditated invasion of Persia, no speech or motion of Aeschines is recorded. He of course did not share in the intrigue with Darius, in which Demosthenes was deeply engaged. Darius sent 300 talents as a subvention to the people, to enable them to form a coalition in Greece against Alexander, and so prevent the contemplated expedition into Persia. This money was refused by the state, but Aeschines affirms that Demosthenes received 70 talents, which he appropriated, and refused to refund or to use for public purposes<sup>2</sup>. The Persian alliance was now the one hope of the anti-Macedonian party; and we must imagine Aeschines watching with alternate hope and fear for news of the victorious progress of Alexander from the moment of his crossing the Hellespont (B.C. 334) to his final triumph over Darius (B.C. 330), which made him lord of all Asia<sup>3</sup>. But

<sup>1</sup> *Dem. de Cor.* § 297.

<sup>2</sup> βασιλικὸν χρυσίον, *Aesch. in Ctes.* §§ 173, 209, 239.

<sup>3</sup> The destruction of Thebes (B.C. 335), though acquiesced in by the Macedonizing party as a stern necessity, must have

it was the final defeat of the anti-Macedonian movement in the Peloponnese under Agis of Sparta by Alexander's lieutenant Antipater (B.C. 331) that seems to have encouraged the enemies of Demosthenes to bring into Court the prosecution of Ctesiphon which had been in abeyance since B.C. 337-6. Alexander had indeed won most of his great victories, Granicus (334 B.C.), Issus (B.C. 333), Tyre (B.C. 332), Arbela (331 B.C.); but the final defeat and death of Darius was not yet known at Athens when the speeches were delivered<sup>1</sup>. The Conqueror was still far out of sight, and there were still all the chances of a long and distant campaign in favour of a collapse of his mighty power as sudden as had been its rise. Therefore the voice of orators had still some significance, and Greece at large was able still to take an interest in a controversy, which would have little meaning except in a free state and before a sovereign people.

*Impeachment of Ctesiphon, summer of B.C. 330.*

In these circumstances this great trial at length commenced. It drew an immense concourse from all parts of Greece. For "this was to be something more than a dazzling display or an exchange of personalities. It was to be a public verdict, after full hearing, on an issue which came home, for good or evil, to every Greek city, to every hearth, almost to every conscience: and for this verdict all Greece was in suspense<sup>2</sup>." The speech delivered by Aeschines in these circumstances was in some respects worthy of the occasion; but the faults and weaknesses with which it was defaced were brought into practically weakened their moral influence in the several states; and was such a shock to Hellenic feeling, that we can see, I think, that Aeschines is exceedingly careful in alluding to it to do so in sympathetic and moderate terms: see in *Ctes.* § 133.

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. in *Ctes.* § 132.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. R. C. Jebb, *The Attic Orators*, vol. II. p. 400.

minence by the consummate skill and power of the answer which it provoked. Where it was strong, that is on the two legal points, it did not appeal to any deep feeling on the part of the audience; and when it came to the subject which deeply moved the hearers, the question of the right or wrong of the Demosthenic policy, it laboured under two fatal disadvantages,—it dealt almost entirely in assertion, and malignant interpretation unsupported by proofs; and secondly the speaker had not the courage, in view of the popular feeling, boldly to set forth a policy counter to that of Demosthenes. It was easy to point out the fatal results of the Demosthenic measures. Athens had failed and suffered; Philip had prevailed, and Alexander was master of the situation; but the hearts of the audience were with the orator who still maintained that, while all was lost, their honour was safe. Nor does Aeschines ever venture distinctly to trace out the policy which he or his party would have preferred to pursue. Perhaps he had no distinct idea of what that policy should be. It could only have been one of temporary expedients and careful compliance; of taking shelter while the Macedonian storm lasted, and waiting till better times should come. Such a policy admits of no definite scheme; it depends on the necessities of the hour; and can only be judged by the ultimate result. Therefore while Demosthenes is attacked and defended on a multitude of definite points in an active policy, as well as with the failure of its sum total, it is generally abstention in the time of need, rather than overt acts, which is laid to the charge of Aeschines.

As to the speech itself its construction is loose and irregular, and does not contain any narrative passages as lively as some in the same Orator's speech on the *Falsa Legatio*. The lengthy and somewhat conventional *prooemium* was criticised adversely by the ancients: there is no regular statement of the subject of the indictment (*πρόθεσις*): such as there is gives only an imperfect enumera-



tion of the points. This is partly explained, if the theory of Blass and others be right that we have here the draft of the speech as drawn in 336, emended by fresh suggestions in 330, and still further emended after the trial had actually taken place, and before publication. But also the regular divisions of a speech are not well observed. The main body of it, the *narratio et demonstratio*, extends from § 13 to 176; and all the rest is, as Blass says, 'Epilogue in the widest sense of the term'; yet from § 176 to 230 there are matters which more properly belong to the previous division, and technically the Epilogue does not begin until § 230. Finally, the peroration is unduly long, and weakened and spoilt by the final section. The following is an outline of the argument and arrangement of the speech.

### 1—8 Prooemium.

The elaborate preparations and display of partisan feeling on the side of the defendant is only another illustration of the vital importance to a democracy of a strict enforcement of the laws, and specially of the law concerning the *γραφὴ παρανόμων*.

### 9—167 Narratio et demonstratio.

9—12. The law prohibiting the crowning of any one still *ὑπεύθυνος* is necessary to prevent the absurdity of a man being crowned by the people and soon afterwards being convicted of embezzlement<sup>1</sup>.

13—15. The Law forbids the crowning of officers before they have passed their *εὔθυνα*: and Demosthenes as *τειχοποιὸς* had an office [an *ἀρχή*, not a mere *ἐπιμέλεια* or *διακονία*] within the meaning of the act. [16] The law therefore is plainly against him.

17—23. Demosthenes' plea of having been crowned for a

<sup>1</sup> Blass, III. 2, p. 184, says that here ought to have followed in 330 a reference to the fact that Demosthenes was *ὑπεύθυνος* at the time of Ctesiphon's proposal. Instead of which we have an answer to a second objection, that, namely, founded



benefaction, not for his conduct in his office, will not hold good.

24—27. Demosthenes was doubly *υπεύθυνος*, (1) as *τειχοποιός*, and (2) as *ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ*<sup>1</sup>.

28—31. Nor is it a valid answer to say that as *τειχοποιός* he was elected by his tribe and not by the demus: the law embraces that case also.

32—48. Ctesiphon has infringed another law,—that namely which forbids the proclamation of a crown in the theatre<sup>2</sup>. They will plead in answer that there are two laws, the latter of which authorises this proceeding. It is impossible that two contradictory laws should exist together. I will show you that the latter does not apply to this case<sup>3</sup>.

49—50. The third infringement of the law on Ctesiphon's part is the proposal to crown Demosthenes on the ground of his valuable public services. This is illegal because the law

on the distinction of *ἀρχή* and *ἐπιμέλεια*. He therefore supposes that an answer to a first objection originally stood here and was cut out. But what then do the words—*πρὶν λόγον, πρὶν εὐθύνας δοῦναι, γέγραφε μεταξὺ Δημοσθένην ἄρχοντα στεφανοῦν*—mean?

<sup>1</sup> This post is only mentioned here and in Dem. *de Cor.* §§ 113, 118. The reference to it here seems, as Blass says, an afterthought suggested by the necessity of showing that Demosthenes had an undoubted office (*ἀρχή*), the other being only to be denominated an *ἀρχή* by straining the sense.

<sup>2</sup> This too Blass thinks to have been inserted in the 2nd edition of the speech delivered in 330, as distinct from that originally composed in 336, on the ground that it is not mentioned in the earlier part of the speech. It seems to me not easy to decide whether this really points to two drafts of the speech, or merely to his less careful or less skilful preparation. Aeschines himself professes to speak more or less impromptu in comparison with the elaborate and professional preparation of Demosthenes, see above p. ix. n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion and fuller statement of Aeschines' argument on this head see App. A.

forbids entering falsehoods on the public records. I must therefore show that in public and private life alike Demosthenes is unworthy.

51—53. The scandals of Demosthenes' **private life** are numerous, and so generally known that what I have to fear is not disbelief, but staleness.

54—167. The **public career** of Demosthenes. I will consider this in four periods, §§ 54—6: I. (B.C. 357—346) from the first remonstrances to Philip in the matter of Amphipolis to the peace of Philocrates, §§ 57—78. II. (B.C. 346—340) from the peace of Philocrates to the outbreak of the Amphissian war, §§ 79—105. III. (B.C. 340—338) from the beginning of the Amphissian war to the battle of Chaeroneia, §§ 106—158. IV. (B.C. 338—330) from the battle of Chaeroneia to the time of speaking, §§ 159—167<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> 'With regard to the first division he accuses Demosthenes of having, in conjunction with Philocrates and those bribed by Philip, injured the state in a threefold manner at the conclusion of the peace, besides having grossly flattered the Macedonian ambassadors. In passing to the second subdivision, he first of all explains why D. had become the enemy of Philip after the peace; and accuses him of having brought about the new war. When D. appeals to the union effected by him with Euboea and Thebes, to the "walls of iron and steel" with which he had fortified the country, Aeschines retorts, in regard to Euboea, with a far-fetched and broad statement, according to which D. was merely the paid accomplice of his friend Callias of Chalcis, and had basely sacrificed the interests of Athens. Evidently the suspicion of Callias and his brother, for whom Demosthenes at that time was trying to obtain citizenship, is here a secondary view. Unfortunately we do not know from any other source when this happened [Hyper. Dem. Col. xvii., Dein. i. § 44]. But it is striking that not only at the beginning of the section (§ 84) do the "iron walls" refer to an expression in the *de Corona* [§ 299], but also soon afterwards another part of the same speech is quite unmistakeably imitated [§ 85, *de Cor.*

168—170. The character of a truly popular statesman (δημοτικός).

171—176. How Demosthenes falls short of this.

§ 100], a peculiarity which is repeated in regard to the other point mentioned in the same clause, the alliance with the Thebans. We may add that, judging from the Demosthenic reply, Aeschines threw suspicion on the Euboeans and Byzantines, and the alliance with them, of which in the speech as it exists we do not find a word [Dem. *de Cor.* §§ 95, 238, 240]. It would therefore appear that in re-editing the speech he must have partly altered, partly excised, a good deal in these sections, probably the latter (as Schäfer suggests) in consideration of the feelings of the Hellenic states, amongst whom he was then living. In the third subdivision the first accusation is for impiety toward the Delphic temple. He dilates on the old war against Cirrha, the consecration of its territory, and the sin of the Amphiſſians in cultivating it, who indeed bribed D. to keep silence about it. He gives full particulars of his own appearance at Delphi, and of how D. kept the Athenians from the holy war against Amphiſſa...then he dilates further on the godlessness of D., and the almost supernatural working of fate which had now reversed the balance of power; had so highly exalted the Macedonians, the liberators of the Delphic temple; and on the other hand had so abased Athens: and that too since D., the hated of the gods, had been at the head of affairs. This paragraph cannot have been written earlier than 330. What follows, that the Theban alliance owed its existence to the circumstances of the times, and not, as D. boasts, to his eloquence, may be of still later date: as not only is reference made to assertions of D. [§ 137] but there is also a certain contact with another passage in the *de Corona* [§ 129, Aesch. § 138]. Then he reproaches D. with having injured Athens in the formation of the alliance, with having conducted the war arbitrarily and perversely, and with having prevented the peace offered by Philip. Then he comes to the battle, and tries to show how unseemly and unreasonable in every way it would be to crown a man who was the originator of such misfortunes.' Blass.



## 177—260 Epilogue.

177—189. Comparison of the rewards given to famous men of old with that now proposed for Demosthenes<sup>1</sup>.

190—200. The strictness of the proceedings on *γραφὰς παρὰ νόμων* compared with their laxity now.

201—212. This strictness the jurors should maintain now by refusing to hear anything but arguments on the legal issues, and therefore should not allow Demosthenes to be called as a *συνήγορος*, or, if they do allow it, should insist on his answering the speech in the same order and spirit as that in which it was delivered: and should disregard all the side issues he may raise, all his oratorical tricks and affected emotion.

213—214. Ctesiphon and Demosthenes are mutually distrustful of each other. Each declares that the danger lies in the other's bad character.

215—229. A defence of the speaker's own conduct against the anticipated attacks of Demosthenes<sup>2</sup>. His abstention from continual interference in public business is the result of his moderation. That he brings the accusation to please Alexander is disproved by the fact that notice of it was given before Philip's death. If he was like a physician finding fault after the patient's death, Demosthenes was an orator who failed his country in the hour of danger.

230—233. Recapitulation (the Epilogue proper). Why then acquit him? Not from the legality of the decree, nor for the good character of Ctesiphon, nor for the merits of

<sup>1</sup> The illustration as to the pugilist Philammon 'evidently introduced after the trial'. See *Dem. de Cor.* 319.

<sup>2</sup> 'All this is in part, if not throughout, identical with the *de Corona*: one passage clearly belongs to the subsequent revision (§ 225). But the most curious thing is the statement that D. intended to compare the eloquence of Aeschines to the song of the Sirens: for this does not occur in the *de Corona*, though it appears to have been really said, and only not inserted in the published speech; while Aeschines introduced it from what he had heard.' Blass.



Demosthenes. By voting him a crown you will transfer the shame of Demosthenes to the city.

234—235. It is necessary to the safety of the democracy to keep statesmen subordinate to the law, lest they develop into national dangers.

236—240. Setting aside the question of legality, how has Demosthenes deserved the crown? His services as to the fortifications were stained with sacrilege; and the Theban alliance was the result of circumstances, not of his diplomacy.

241—2. As to calling Demosthenes,—what more nauseous than to hear him sing his own praises? You had better conduct your own defence, Ctesiphon. You cannot plead inexperience; for you have lately undertaken a foreign mission.

243—6. No special oratory is needed to bring out the merits of a really deserving man, such as Chabrias, Iphicrates, or Timoleon. Demosthenes, so far from a crown, deserves to be driven over the frontier like the lifeless objects which have been used in murder.

247—251. Final appeal to the jurors. All eyes are upon you. The character of the state depends on that of the men whom she delights to honour. The way to avoid granting honours which dishonour the state is to demand proofs of the recipient's worthiness. If you don't do so, you will have individuals becoming over-powerful, the state weak.

252—254. Much less serious acts of treason than those involved in the cowardice and mischievous policy of Demosthenes have brought their authors into trouble.

255—260. Final peroration. It is your country that will be affected by your vote. Do not let private feelings sway you: contrast with his empty boasts the glorious services of the heroes of old: and show yourselves true sons of those men who punished with death the man who brought Persian gold into the country, though not for himself. I have spoken my utmost. It rests with you to vote for the right.

Such was the speech, which in this final controversy of free Athens, in spite of the influence of the Macedonian monarchy, and in spite of the splendid and winning voice

of the speaker, failed to convince an Athenian court. Aeschines did not obtain the necessary fifth part of the votes, and consequently incurred the penalty of 1000 drachmae. It cannot be supposed that he or his friends were unable to pay this sum (about £40); or that he would have refused to do so from mere contumacy. He had lost the power of ever bringing such an action again, and he must have felt that it was the end of his career as an Athenian citizen; and that it was better to live elsewhere. If he could not persuade his fellow-citizens that he was right, when Alexander was in the full tide of his success, what would be his case if news reached Greece that Alexander were defeated or dead? He therefore determined, forfeiting his citizenship by non-payment, to put himself immediately under the protection of Alexander. He retired to Ephesus, from which town the road through Sardis to central Asia began, and waited for the return of the king. He was therefore not at Athens to witness his rival's disgrace and recall (B.C. 325—4). But we have no particulars of his life at Ephesus, either as to what he did, or on what he lived, whether by teaching as afterwards at Rhodes, or on the bounty of the Macedonian king. We are only told that in the confusion which followed the death of Alexander he retired to Rhodes and there 'set up a school and taught,' not apparently a school of rhetoric, for he told the Rhodians that he did not know the art of rhetoric, but a more elementary school<sup>1</sup>. Presently, for

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, Dem. c. 24, says that he lived *περὶ Ῥόδον καὶ Ἰωνίαν σοφιστεύων*. He therefore probably gave paid lectures of some sort. The assertion of the Pseudo-Plutarch, *Vit. x Or.* 343 D that he was the founder of the Rhodian school of oratory—*τὸ Ῥοδιακὸν διδασκαλεῖον κληθέν*—is a manifest anachronism. The so-called Rhodian School does not seem to have been famous until about about B.C. 100, and at any rate it was the growth of the political importance of Rhodes, which did not begin until the time of the successors of Alexander.

reasons of which we again know nothing, he left Rhodes for Samos, where he died in his 75th year (about B.C. 314), nearly eight years after the death of Demosthenes<sup>1</sup>. The only anecdote of this portion of his life which we have is that narrated in the biography of the Pseudo-Plutarch. 'He read,' we are told, 'to the Rhodians his speech against Ctesiphon; and when all his hearers expressed their astonishment that he should have been defeated after such a speech, he said: "You would not be surprised if you had heard the reply of Demosthenes."' The last hope, perhaps the last wish, of a return to Athens ended with the death of Alexander. Even if he had been by nature inclined to take an active part in politics, which seems not to have been the case, there was little in the state of things at Athens to tempt him to desire to return; and he was probably more content to follow his peaceful occupation in places where the 'Macedonian question' was no longer a cause of vehement debate or social division. Three orations of his have come down to us, the genuineness of which has not, as far as I know, been impugned. They all bear the stamp of the same mind, and have similar merits and defects. Of these the speech on the embassy is the most graphic and lively. The subject of that against Timarchus renders it revolting to modern readers; but it contains a good deal that is of interest, and is expressed in clear and direct language. That against Ctesiphon is the most laboured, but not to my mind as effective as the *de Falsa Legatione*. A fourth oration, λόγος Δηλιακός, was anciently in existence, attributed to Aeschines, but was early declared spurious.

Aeschines was married to a daughter of Philodemus, son of Philon, and had two sons and one daughter. But of his domestic life we know absolutely nothing.

<sup>1</sup> According to one story he was put to death by Antipater, who however died three or perhaps six years before him (B.C. 320 or 317) according to the received chronology.

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE LIFE OF AESCHINES.

OL.	B.C.	
97	389	Aeschines born, son of Atrometus ['Tromes' Dem. <i>de Cor.</i> § 129] and Glaucothea [or Glaucis or Leucothea] <i>de F. L.</i> § 147—9.
98	387	Peace of Antalcidas.
99	383	Birth of Philip.
	382	Birth of Demosthenes.
100	379	The Olynthian confederacy dissolved by the Spartans.
	378	New maritime confederacy formed, under Athens [σύνεδροι, σύνταξις].
101	374—3 (?)	Aeschines serves in the περίπολοι.
102	371	Peace (of Callias) between Sparta and Athens. Battle of Leuctra. Thebans establish supremacy in Euboea.
	370	Restoration of Mantinea and founding of Megalopolis.
103	368—6	Philip a hostage at Thebes.
	[368—359]	Alexander, tyrant of Pherae].
	367	Aeschines (aet. 23) serves under Chares at Corinth, and is engaged in the convoy (παραπομπή) of provisions to Phlius [ <i>F. L.</i> § 168. Xen. <i>Hell.</i> 7, 2, 15—20. Diod. xv. 75. Grote x. 31—49].
	366	Thebans occupy Oropus by means of the Eretrian Themison [Xen. <i>Hell.</i> 7, 4, 1]. Corinth and Phlius make a separate peace with Thebes. The Athenians intrigue with Artaxerxes to have Amphipolis declared Athenian territory.



OL.	B.C.	
103—4	365—4	Timotheus conquers Samos and part of the Chersonese; carries on war with king Cotys of Thrace, and in Chalcidice, but fails to take Amphipolis.
104	363	Death of Pelopidas in Thessaly. Expedition of Epaminondas to Byzantium.
	362	Death of Artaxerxes Mnemon and succession of Darius Codomannus. Battle of Mantinea and death of Epaminondas. Aeschines (act. 27) engaged [ <i>F. L.</i> § 169].
105	359	Philip becomes king of Macedonia.
	358	Murder of Cotys. The Athenians at war with Cersobleptes and Charidemus in the Thracian Chersonese.
		Philip takes and then evacuates Amphipolis: but, as the Athenians do nothing, he again takes it professedly in the interests of Athens.
		First expedition into Euboea, to destroy the Theban influence there, under Diocles and Chares. Aeschines (act. 31) engaged [ <i>F. L.</i> § 169, cp. <i>in Ctes.</i> 85. <i>Dem. Arist.</i> § 206. <i>Grote</i> , xi. 20. <i>Thirlw.</i> v. 227].
	357	Social war begun by revolt of Chios, Rhodes, and Byzantium.
		The Phocians seize Delphi. Sacred war.
106	356	Birth of Alexander.
	355	Social war ended, the revolting cities being acknowledged independent.
		Demosthenes begins speaking.
	354	Condemnation of Timotheus.
	353	Philip seizes Pagasae and besieges Methone.
107	352	Philip defeats Onomarchus, liberates Phœrae, but is stopped at Thermopylae by an Athenian fleet.
	351	The first Philippic of Demosthenes.
	350—349	Second expedition into Euboea, under Phocion, at the request of Plutarch of Eretria,

O<sup>l</sup>. B.C.

supported by Eubulus and opposed by Demosthenes. At the battle of Tamynæ Aeschines (aet. 39) served in the ἐπιλεκτοὶ who secured the victory, and was selected to take home news of the victory [Dem. in *Mid.* § 110. Aesch. *F. L.* § 169. Grote, xi. 144. Thirlw. v. 262].

Philip taking towns in the Chalcidic peninsula.

349 Philip attacks Olynthus. The Olynthiac Orations of Demosthenes.

Aeschines (aet. 40) begins to take part in public affairs, and advises war with Philip.

108 348 Philip takes Olynthus.

347 Aeschines (aet. 42) goes on a mission to the Peloponnese to form a coalition against Philip [Dem. *F. L.* § 10. Grote, xi. 171. Thirlw. v. 326—7].

Death of Plato.

346 The first embassy to Philip proposed by Aristodemus, Neoptólemus, and Ctesiphon [Dem. *F. L.* § 12]. Aeschines (aet. 43) serves on it.

Peace arranged (March) on the basis of *status quo*.

Decree of Timarchus against exporting arms and ship-stores to Philip.

Philip takes various places in Thrace [Grote, xi. 207].

Second Embassy (April—June).

In June Philip takes the oaths at Pheræ.

Later in June Phalaecus surrenders Thermopylae to Philip; and the Phocian cities submit. A third embassy is sent, on which Demosthenes refuses to serve, and Aeschines does not go owing to sickness. The ambassadors fail to see Philip.

July. Aeschines visits Philip in Phocis, and asserts that he saved the lives of many Phocians [Dem. *F. L.* 380. Aesch. *F. L.* 139—142. Grote, xi. 228. Thirlw. vi. 5]. End of the Sacred War.

- Ol. <sup>B.C.</sup>  
 345 Aeschines (aet. 44) elected deputy to plead the cause of the Athenians in the dispute about Delos; but his election is quashed by the Areopagus [Dem. *de Cor.* § 134]. Aeschines prosecutes Timarchus.
- 109 344 An Athenian expedition into Acarnania. The mission of Python of Byzantium to Athens. The 2nd Philippic of Demosthenes.
- 343 Philip takes Halonnesus.  
 Mission of Hegesippus to Philip [*in Ctes.* § 83. Grote, xi. 251].
- 342 Philip in Thrace.  
 Speeches of Demosthenes and Aeschines on the Embassy. Aeschines (aet. 47) acquitted by a narrow majority.
- 341 Diopetides in the Chersonese; dispute with Philip as to Cardia. The 3rd Philippic and 'on the Chersonese' of Demosthenes [Grote, xi. 255]. Expedition into Euboea under Phocion. Execution of Anaxinus of Oreus, as a supposed spy of Philip [*in Ctes.* § 223—4].
- 110 340 Demosthenes at Byzantium.  
 Midsummer. War declared with Philip [Grote, xi. 259].  
 Demosthenes carries his trierarchic Law.
- 339 Aeschines (aet. 50) at the Amphictyonic council, in February, advises the punishment of the Amphissians [*in Ctes.* § 106 sqq. Grote, xi. 272].
- 338 June. Philip, being chosen general of the Amphictyons, marches south and seizes and fortifies Elateia [Dem. *de Cor.* § 169 sqq. Aesch. *in Ctes.* § 140].  
 August. Battle of Chaeroneia.  
 Death of Isocrates.
- 337 Ctesiphon proposes to crown Demosthenes for his public services.  
 Aeschines (aet. 52) gives notice of a *γραφὴ παρανόμων*.

- |     |     |      |  |
|-----|-----|------|--|
|     | OL. | B.C. |  |
| 111 | 336 |      | Philip assassinated (in July) by Pausanias. Alexander elected general of the Greeks in the Persian war.  |
|     | 335 |      | Thebes revolts in the Spring while Alexander is in Thrace, and is destroyed in September.  |
|     | 334 |      | Alexander crosses the Hellespont in the Spring. Antipater left regent of Macedonia. Battle of the Granicus (May).  |
|     | 333 |      | Agis king of Sparta negotiates with the officers of the king of Persia, and receives 30 talents and 10 triremes: he forms a league of states against Macedonia. Battle of Issus [November].                                |
| 112 | 332 |      | Tyre taken by Alexander after seven months' siege, Alexandria founded.   |
|     | 331 |      | Battle of Arbela (October). About the same time Agis is defeated and killed by Antipater near Megalopolis [ <i>in Ctes.</i> § 165. Justin, xii. 1].  |
|     | 330 |      | The trial of Ctesiphon on Aeschines' impeachment comes on shortly before the Pythian games [ <i>in Ctes.</i> § 254], that is, in January or February. Aeschines retires to Ephesus [ <i>act.</i> 58]. July. Darius killed. |
| 113 | 325 |      | Harpalus comes to Athens from Babylonia.   |
| 114 | 324 |      | Demosthenes imprisoned on a charge of receiving bribes. He escapes to Troezen.   |
|     | 320 |      | Death of Alexander. Demosthenes returns to Athens. Aeschines ( <i>act.</i> 65) retires to Rhodes. Lamian War.  |
|     | 322 |      | Battle of Cranon. Death of Demosthenes and Aristotle.  |
| 115 | 317 |      | Death of Phocion and Antipater.  |
| 116 | 314 |      | Aeschines ( <i>act.</i> 75) dies at Samos.   |



## ΚΑΤΑ ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ.

### ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

53 Κτησιφῶν ἔγραψε ψήφισμα στεφανῶσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ καὶ ἀναγορεύσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγωδῶν, ὅτι διατελεῖ τὰ ἄριστα καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων. τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἐγράψατο Αἰσχίνης παρα- 5 νόμων, καὶ εἰσάγει κεφάλαια γενικὰ τρία, ἐν μὲν ὅτι ὑπεύθυνον ὄντα τὸν Δημοσθένην ἐστεφάνωσε τοῦ νόμου κελεύοντος μὴ ἐξεῖναι ὑπεύθυνον ἄρχοντα στεφανοῦν, περὶ οὐσίας, δεύτερον δὲ ὅτι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἀνεκήρυξε τὸν στέφανον ἀπαγορεύοντος τοῦ νόμου μηδένα στεφανοῦν 10 ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, περὶ ποιότητος, τρίτον καὶ τελευταῖον, ὅτι καὶ τὰ ψευδῇ ἔγραψεν ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι· οὐκ εἶναι γὰρ καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν τὸν Δημοσθένην, οὐδὲ ἄξιον τοῦ στεφάνου. καὶ τοῦτο εἰς τὸ παράνομον ἀνακτέον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ νόμος ἐστὶν ὁ κωλύων τὰ ψευδῇ γράφειν ἐν τοῖς 15 ψηφίσμασιν· ἔστι δὲ περὶ ποιότητος. ὑποφορὰς δὲ λαμβάνει τρεῖς· πρὸς μὲν τὸ πρῶτον δισσῶς ἐροῦντος Δημοσθένους, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν ἄρχων οὐδὲ ἔστιν ἀρχὴ ἢ τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομὴ ἀλλὰ διακονία τις καὶ ἐπιμέλεια, εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀρχή, τῷ γε ἐπιδεδωκέναι ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ μηδὲν 20 εἰληφέναι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἦν ὑπεύθυνος, περὶ ποιότητος ἀμφοτέρω· πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Αἰσχίνης εἰσάγει

στοχαστικὸν κεφάλαιον, οὐ μέντοι κατασκευάζει· εἰ δὲ  
καὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐπέδωκεν, ἀλλ' εἶχε παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς  
25 εἰς τοῦτο δέκα τάλαντα, περὶ οὐσίας. πρὸς δὲ τὸ δεύτε-  
ρον κεφάλαιον παρεχομένου Δημοσθένους νόμον ἕτερον,  
κελεύοντα ἀνακηρύττειν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἂν ψηφίσηται ὁ  
δῆμος, Αἰσχίνης οὐ περὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν αὐτὸν εἶναι  
φῆσιν ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ξενικῶν στεφάνων, περὶ οὐσίας.  
30 πρὸς δὲ τὸ τρίτον πολλὰ κατὰ μέρος. οἶεται δὲ τὸν  
Δημοσθένην εἰς τέσσαρας καιροὺς διηρηκέσαι τὴν ἀπο-  
λογίαν, τὰ πράγματα καθ' ἕκαστα εἰς τούτους μερίσαντα.  
πρῶτον μὲν οὖν φῆσιν εἶναι καιρὸν τὸν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ  
πρώτου τοῦ πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ Ἀμφιπόλεως γενομένου,  
35 δεύτερον δὲ τὸν τῆς εἰρήνης, τρίτον δὲ τὸν τοῦ πολέμου  
τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ τῆς περὶ Χαιρώνειας ἥττης, τέταρτον  
δὲ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν τὸν περὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον  
πολιτευμάτων. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ πρώτῳ αἴτιον αὐτὸν φῆσι  
γεγονέναι τῆς εἰρήνης, αἰσχρᾶς οὔσης καὶ ἀδόξου, καὶ  
40 τοῦ μὴ μετὰ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεδρίου τὴν πόλιν  
αὐτὴν πεποιῆσθαι· ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ, ὅτι τὸν πόλεμον  
τὸν πρὸς Φίλιππον αὐτὸς παρεσκεύασεν· ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ,  
ὅτι τοῦ ἱεροῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν περὶ Φωκέας συμβάντων  
αἴτιος ἐγένετο, καὶ τῆς ἥττης τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ, πείσας  
45 μετὰ Θηβαίων ἀραμένους τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς Φίλιππον  
παρατάξασθαι· ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ, ὅτι κατ' αὐτὸν πρὸς  
Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκ ἐπολιτεύσατο. μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοῦ  
βίου παντὸς τοῦ Δημοσθένους κατηγορεῖ, καὶ δὴ καὶ  
Κτησιφῶντος ἐν ὀλίγοις, ἐν οἷς ἀξιοῖ αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ  
50 τὸν Κτησιφῶντα ἀπολογεῖσθαι. τὰ μὲν οὖν κεφάλαια  
ταῦτ' ἐστίν· ἐνίκα δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα Δημοσθένης.

Μέμφονται μέντοι τινὲς τὸν Αἰσχίνην ὅτι οὐκ ἐνδιέ-  
τριψεν ἐν τῷ παρανόμῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς πολιτείας κατη-

γορεῖ τοῦ Δημοσθένους, καλῶς πεπολιτευμένου τοῦ ἀνδρός. αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦναντίον τούτῳ μάλιστα ἰσχυρίζεται, 55 λέγων οὕτως “ἔστι δ’ ὑπόλοιπον μέρος τῆς κατηγορίας ἐφ’ ᾧ μάλιστα σπουδάζω· τοῦτο δ’ ἐστὶν ἡ πρόφασις δι’ ἣν αὐτὸν ἀξιοῖ στεφανοῦσθαι.” μήποτε δὲ ἄριστα τοῦτο ἔπραξεν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶχε δόξαν μεγάλην παρὰ πᾶσι καὶ ὑπόληψιν ὁ Δημοσθένης ὡς λαμπρότατα πεπολιτευ- 60 μένος, εἰκότως ᾤήθη ψυχροὺς καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀξίους φανήσεσθαι τοὺς περὶ τῶν παρανόμων λόγους, εἰ μὴ δόξαν αὐτοῖς ἐμποιήσῃ τὴν ἐναντίαν, ὡς ἄρα ὁ Δημοσθένης κακόνους ἐστὶ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ αἰσchrῶς καὶ ἐπιμέμπτως πεπολίτευται. διὰ τοῦτο ἐσποίδασε περὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα, 65 καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει τῆς κατηγορίας τὸ πλεῖστον ἐνδιέτριψε. μέμφαιτο δ’ ἂν τις τὸ προοίμιον ὡς τραγικὸν καὶ περιττὸν καὶ ἐπιλόγῳ μᾶλλον ὅμοιον.

Ἡ στάσις τοῦ λόγου ἐστὶ πραγματικὴ ἔγγραφος, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ τοῦ ὑπὲρ τοῦ στεφάνου. τὰ δὲ κεφάλαια 70 δηλοῦσι τῆς πραγματικῆς περιέχει ἅπερ καὶ ἐκεῖ, οἷον τὸ νόμιμον τεμνόμενον εἰς τρεῖς νόμους, τὸ δὲ δίκαιον εἰς τέσσαρας καιροὺς. ὅρα δὲ πῶς ἐπιλογικῶς ἤρξατο ἀπὸ συνηγόρων ἐκβολῆς, ὥσπερ καὶ Δημοσθένης.

Τινὲς εἶπον ὅτι οἶκ ἔχει κατασκευὴν τὸ προοίμιον· 75 οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ συμπέρασμα δεῖ ζητεῖν. ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀκατάσκευον· ἔστι γὰρ αὐτοῦ κατασκευὴ “ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ μέτρια καὶ τὰ συνήθη μὴ γίνεσθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει.” εἰ γὰρ ἡ αἰτία τῆς προτάσεώς ἐστὶν ἡ κατασκευή, διὰ δὲ τὸ τὰ μέτρια μὴ γίνεσθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει αἱ δεήσεις, κατασκευὴ 80 ἂν εἴη. ἔχει δὲ καὶ συμπέρασμα, “ἐγὼ δὲ πεπιστευκῶς ἦκω” ἕως τοῦ “μείζον τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν δικαίων.”

Τὴν μὲν παρασκευὴν ὁρᾶτε, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὴν παράταξιν, ὅση γεγένηται, καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν ἀγο-

ρὰν δεήσεις, αἷς κέχρηνται τινες ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ μέτρια  
 καὶ τὰ συνήθη μὴ γίνεσθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει· ἐγὼ δὲ  
 πεπιστευκῶς ἤκω πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς δεύτερον δὲ  
 τοῖς νόμοις καὶ ὑμῖν, ἡγούμενος οὐδεμίαν παρα-  
 σκευὴν ἰσχύειν παρ' ὑμῖν μεῖζον τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν  
 2 δικαίων. ἐβουλόμεν μὲν οὖν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὴν  
 βουλὴν τοὺς πεντακοσίους καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ  
 τῶν ἐφεστηκότων ὀρθῶς διοικεῖσθαι, καὶ τοὺς νόμους  
 οὓς ἐνομοθέτησεν ὁ Σόλων περὶ τῆς τῶν ῥητόρων  
 εὐκοσμίας ἰσχύειν, ἵν' ἐξῇν πρῶτον μὲν τῷ πρεσβυ-  
 τάτῳ τῶν πολιτῶν, ὥσπερ οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσι, σω- 54  
 φρύνως ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα παρελθόντι ἄνευ θορύβου καὶ  
 ταραχῆς ἐξ ἐμπειρίας τὰ βέλτιστα τῇ πόλει συμβου-  
 λεύειν, δεύτερον δ' ἤδη καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν τὸν  
 βουλόμενον καθ' ἡλικίαν χωρὶς καὶ ἐν μέρει περὶ  
 ἐκάστου γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μοι  
 δοκεῖ ἢ τε πόλις ἄριστα διοικεῖσθαι αἷ τε κρίσεις  
 3 ἐλάχισται γίνεσθαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντα τὰ πρότερον  
 ὁμολογημένα καλῶς ἔχειν νυνὶ καταλέλυσται, καὶ  
 γράφουσὶ τέ τινες ῥαδίως παρανόμους γνώμας, καὶ  
 ταῦτα ἕτεροὶ τινες τὰ ψηφίσματα ἐπιψηφίζουσιν  
 οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ δικαιοτάτου τρόπου λαχόντες προεδρεύειν  
 ἀλλ' ἐκ παρασκευῆς καθεζόμενοι, ἂν δέ τις τῶν  
 ἄλλων βουλευτῶν οὕτως λάχῃ κληρούμενος προ-  
 εδρεύειν καὶ τὰς ὑμετέρας χειροτονίας ὀρθῶς ἀναγο-  
 ρεύῃ, τοῦτον αἱ τὴν πολιτείαν κοινὴν οὐκέτι ἀλλ'  
 ἰδίαν αὐτῶν ἡγούμενοι ἀπειλοῦσιν εἰσαγγέλλειν,  
 καταδουλούμενοι τοὺς ιδιώτας καὶ δυναστείας ἑαυτοῖς  
 4 περιποιούμενοι, καὶ τὰς κρίσεις τὰς μὲν ἐκ τῶν νόμων  
 καταλελύκασιν τὰς δ' ἐκ τῶν ψηφισμάτων μετ' ὀργῆς



κρίνουσι, σεσίγηται μὲν τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ σωφρονέστατον κήρυγμα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει “ τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται τῶν ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων καὶ πάλιν ἐν μέρει τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων,” τῆς δὲ τῶν ῥητόρων ἀκοσμίας οὐκέτι κρατεῖν δύνανται οὔθ’ οἱ νόμοι οὔθ’ οἱ πρυτάνεις οὔθ’ οἱ πρόεδροι οὔθ’ ἡ προεδρεύουσα φυλή, τὸ δέκατον μέρος τῆς πόλεως. τούτων δ’ ἐχόντων οὕτως, καὶ τῶν καιρῶν ὄντων τῇ 5 πόλει τοιούτων ὁποίους τινὰς αἰτούς ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετε εἶναι, ἐν ὑπολείπεται μέρος τῆς πολιτείας, εἴ τι καὶ γὰρ τυγχάνω γιγνώσκων, αἱ τῶν παρανέμων γραφαί. εἰ δὲ καὶ ταύτας καταλύσετε ἢ τοῖς καταλύουσιν ἐπιτρέψετε, προλέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι λήσετε κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς πολιτείας τισὶ παραχωρήσαντες. εὖ γὰρ 6 ἴστε, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσι πολιτεῖαι παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, τυραννὶς καὶ ὀλιγαρχία καὶ δημοκρατία, διοικοῦνται δ’ αἱ μὲν τυραννίδες καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαι τοῖς τρόποις τῶν ἐφεσθηκότων, αἱ δὲ πόλεις αἱ δημοκρατούμεναι τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς κειμένοις. μηδεὶς οὖν ὑμῶν τοῦτ’ ἀγνοεῖτω, ἀλλὰ σαφῶς ἕκαστος ἐπιστάσθω, ὅτι ὅταν εἰσὶν εἰς δικαστήριον γραφὴν παρανόμων δικάσων, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μέλλει τὴν ψήφον φέρειν περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παρρησίας. διόπερ καὶ ὁ νομοθέτης τοῦτο πρῶτον ἔταξεν ἐν τῷ τῶν δικαστῶν ἔρκρ, “ ψηφιοῦμαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους,” ἐκεῖνό γε εὖ εἰδώς, ὅτι, ὅταν διατηρηθῶσιν οἱ νόμοι τῇ πόλει, σώζεται καὶ ἡ δημοκρατία. ἢ χρὴ δια- 7 μνημονεύοντας ὑμᾶς μισεῖν τοὺς τὰ παράνομα γράφοντας, καὶ μηδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι μικρὸν εἶναι τῶν τοιούτων ἀδικημάτων ἀλλ’ ἕκαστον ὑπερμέγεθες, καὶ

- τοῦθ' ὑμῶν τὸ δίκαιον μηδένα ἀνθρώπων ἐξαιρεῖσθαι, μήτε τὰς τῶν στρατηγῶν συνηγορίας, οἱ ἐπὶ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον συνεργοῦντές τισι τῶν ῥητόρων λυμαίνονται τὴν πολιτείαν, μήτε τὰς τῶν ξένων δεήσεις, οὓς ἀναβιβαζόμενοί τινες ἐκφεύγουσιν ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων, παράνομον πολιτείαν πολιτευόμενοι· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἂν ὑμῶν ἕκαστος αἰσχυνθείη τὴν τάξιν λιπεῖν ἢν ἂν ταχθῇ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, οὕτω καὶ νῦν αἰσχύνητε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν ἢν τέταχθε ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων φύλακες τῆς δημοκρατίας τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν.
- 8 καὶ κεῖνο δὲ χρή διαμνημονεύειν, ὅτι νῦν ἅπαντες οἱ πολῖται παρακαταθέμενοι τὴν πόλιν ὑμῖν καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν διαπιστεύσαντες οἱ μὲν πάρεσι καὶ ἐπακούουσι τῆσδε τῆς κρίσεως, οἱ δὲ ἄπεισιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἔργων· οὓς αἰσχυνόμενοι, καὶ τῶν ὅρκων οὓς ὠμόσατε μεμνημένοι καὶ τῶν νόμων, εἰάν ἐξελέγξωμεν Κτησιφῶντα καὶ παράνομα γεγραφότα καὶ ψευδῇ καὶ ἀσύμφορα τῇ πόλει, λύετε ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰς παρανόμους γνώμας, βεβαιοῦτε τῇ πόλει τὴν δημοκρατίαν, κολάζετε τοὺς ὑπεναντίως τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τῷ συμφέροντι τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πολιτευομένους. καὶν ταύτην ἔχοντες τὴν διάνοιαν ἀκούσῃτε τῶν 55 μελλόντων ῥηθήσεσθαι λόγων, εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι δίκαια καὶ εὖορκα καὶ συμφέροντα ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ψηφιεῖσθε καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πόλει.
- 9 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ὅλης κατηγορίας μετρίως μοι ἐλπίζω προειρηθῆναι· περὶ δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων οἱ κεῖνται περὶ τῶν ὑπευθύνων, παρ' οὓς τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο τυγχάνει γεγραφὸς Κτησιφῶν, διὰ βραχέων εἰπεῖν βούλομαι. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις

ἄρχοντές τινες τὰς μεγίστας ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς προσό-  
 δους διοικοῦντες, καὶ δωροδοκοῦντες περὶ ἕκαστα  
 τούτων, προσλαμβάνοντες τοὺς τε ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτη-  
 ρίου ῥήτορας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ δήμου πόρρωθεν προ-  
 κατελάμβανον τὰς εὐθύνας ἐπαίνοις καὶ κηρύγμασιν,  
 ὥστ' ἐν ταῖς εὐθύναις τῶν ἀρχόντων εἰς τὴν μεγίσ-  
 την μὲν ἀπορίαν ἀφικνεῖσθαι τοὺς κατηγοροὺς, πολὺ  
 δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον τοὺς δικαστάς. πολλοὶ γὰρ πάνυ τῶν 10  
 ὑπευθύνων ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ κλέπται τῶν δημοσίων  
 χρημάτων ὄντες ἐξελεγχόμενοι διεφύγγανον ἐκ τῶν  
 δικαστηρίων. εἰκότως· ἡσχύνοντο γὰρ εἶμαι οἱ  
 δικασταί, εἰ φανήσεται ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ  
 πύλει, τυχὸν δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐνιαυτῷ, πρῶν μὲν  
 ποτε ἀναγορευόμενος (ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν) ὥτι στεφανοῦ-  
 ται ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου  
 χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν  
 ἔξεισιν ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου κλοπῆς ἕνεκα τὰς εὐθύνας  
 ὠφληκώς· ὥστε ἠναγκάζονται τὴν ψῆφον φέρειν οἱ  
 δικασταὶ οὐ περὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀδικήματος ἀλλ'  
 ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰσχύνης τοῦ δήμου. κατιδὼν δέ τις ταῦτα 11  
 νομοθέτης τίθησι νόμον καὶ μάλα καλῶς ἔχοντα,  
 τὸν διαρρήδην ἀπαγορεύοντα τοὺς ὑπευθύνους μὴ  
 στεφανοῦν. καὶ ταῦτα οὕτως εὖ προκατειληφότες  
 τοῦ νομοθέτου εὖρηνται κρείττους λόγοι τῶν νόμων,  
 οὓς εἰ μὴ τις ὑμῖν ἑρεῖ, λήσετε ἐξαπατηθέντες. τού-  
 των γάρ τινες τῶν τοὺς ὑπευθύνους στεφανοῦντων  
 παρὰ τοὺς νόμους οἱ μὲν φύσει μέτριοί εἰσιν, εἰ δὲ  
 τίς ἐστι μέτριος τῶν τὰ παράνομα γραφόντων· ἀλλ'  
 οὖν προβάλλονται γέ τι πρὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης. προσ-  
 εγγράφουσι γὰρ πρὸς τὰ ψηφίσματα στεφανοῦν τὸν



- ὑπεύθυνον ἐπειδὴν λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας τῆς ἀρχῆς δῶ.
- 12 καὶ ἡ μὲν πόλις τὸ ἴσον ἀδίκημα ἀδικεῖται (προκαταλαμβάνονται γὰρ ἐπαίνοις καὶ στεφάνοις αἱ εὐθύναι), ὁ δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα γράφων ἐνδείκνυται τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὅτι γέγραφε μὲν παράνομα, αἰσχύνεται δὲ ἐφ' οἷς ἡμάρτηκε. Κτησιφῶν δέ, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὑπερπηδήσας τὸν νόμον τὸν περὶ τῶν ὑπευθύνων κείμενον, καὶ τὴν πρόφασιν ἣν ἐγὼ ἀρτίως προεῖπον ὑμῖν ἀνελάν, πρὶν λόγον, πρὶν εὐθύνας δοῦναι, γέγραφε μεταξὺ Δημοσθένην ἄρχοντα στεφανοῦν.
- 13 Λέξουσι δὲ ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἕτερον λόγον ὑπεναντίον τῷ ἀρτίως εἰρημένῳ, ὥς ἄρα ὅσα τις αἰρετὸς ὢν πράττει κατὰ ψήφισμα, οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα ἀρχὴ ἀλλ' ἐπιμέλειά τις καὶ διακονία· ἀρχὰς δὲ φήσουσιν ἐκείνας εἶναι ὥς οἱ θεσμοθέται ἀποκληροῦσιν ἐν τῷ Θησείῳ, καὶ ἐκείνας ὥς ὁ δῆμος εἴωθε χειροτονεῖν ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις, στρατηγούς καὶ ἱππάρχους καὶ τὰς μετὰ τούτων ἀρχάς, τὰς δ' ἄλλας ταύτας πραγματείας προστεταγμένας κατὰ ψήφισμα. ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους τοὺς τούτων νόμον ὑμέτερον παρέξομαι, ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐνομοθετήσατε λύσειν ἡγούμενοι τὰς τοιαύτας προφάσεις, ἐν ᾧ διαρρήδην γέγραπται, “τὰς χειροτονητάς” φησιν “ἀρχάς” ἀπάσας ἐν περιλαβὼν ὀνόματι ὁ νομοθέτης, καὶ προσειπὼν ἀρχὰς ἀπάσας εἶναι ὥς ὁ δῆμος χειροτονεῖ, “καὶ τοὺς ἐπιστάτας” φησὶ “τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων” (ἔστι δὲ ὁ Δημοσθένης τειχοποιός, ἐπιστάτης τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ἔργων) “καὶ πάντας ὅσοι διαχειρίζουσιν τι τῶν τῆς πόλεως πλέον ἢ τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας, καὶ ὅσοι λαμβάνουσιν ἡγεμονίας δικαστηρίων” (οἱ δὲ τῶν ἔργων



56 ἐπιστάται πάντες ἡγεμονία χρῶνται δικαστηρίου),  
 τί τούτους κελεύει ποιεῖν; οὐ διακονεῖν ἀλλ' ἄρχειν 15  
 δοκιμασθέντας ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αἱ κλη-  
 ρωταὶ ἀρχαὶ οὐκ ἀδοκίμαστοι ἀλλὰ δοκιμασθεῖσαι  
 ἄρχουσι, καὶ λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας ἐγγράφειν πρὸς τὸν  
 γραμματέα καὶ τοὺς λογιστάς, καθάπερ καὶ τὰς  
 ἄλλας ἀρχάς, κελεύει. Ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, τοὺς  
 νόμους αὐτοὺς ὑμῖν ἀναγνώσεται.

### NOMOI.

Ὅταν τοίνυν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁ μὲν νομοθέτης 16  
 ἀρχὰς ὀνομάζῃ, οὗτοι δὲ προσαγορεύωσι πραγμα-  
 τείας καὶ ἐπιμελείας, ὑμέτερον ἔργον ἐστὶν ἀπομνη-  
 μονεύειν καὶ ἀντιτάττειν τὸν νόμον πρὸς τὴν τούτων  
 ἀναίδειαν, καὶ ὑποβάλλειν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι οὐ προσδέ-  
 χεσθε κακοῦργον καὶ σοφιστὴν οἰόμενον ῥήμασι τοὺς  
 νόμους ἀναιρήσειν, ἀλλ' ὅσῳ ἂν τις ἄμεινον λέγῃ  
 παράνομα γεγραφώς, τοσούτῳ μείζονος ὀργῆς τεύξε-  
 ται. χρὴ γὰρ, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ αὐτὸ φθέγγεσθαι τὸν  
 ῥήτορα καὶ τὸν νόμον. ὅταν δὲ ἑτέραν μὲν φωνὴν  
 ἀφιῇ ὁ νόμος ἑτέραν δὲ ὁ ῥήτωρ, τῷ τοῦ νόμου δικαίῳ  
 χρὴ διδόναι τὴν ψῆφον, οὐ τῇ τοῦ λέγοντος ἀναι-  
 σχυντία.

Πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὸν ἄφυκτον λόγον, ὃν φησι Δημο- 17  
 σθένης, βραχέα βούλομαι προειπεῖν. λέξει γὰρ οὐ-  
 τος “τειχοποιός εἰμι· ὁμολογῶ· ἀλλ' ἐπιδέδωκα τῇ  
 πόλει μνᾶς ἑκατὸν καὶ τὸ ἔργον μείζον ἐξείργασται.  
 τίνος οὖν εἰμὶ ὑπεύθυνος; εἰ μὴ τίς ἐστιν εὐνοίας  
 εὐθυνα.” πρὸς δὴ ταύτην τὴν πρόφασιν ἀκούσατέ  
 μου λέγοντος καὶ δίκαια καὶ συμφέροντα. ἐν γὰρ

- ταύτῃ τῇ πῖλῃ οὕτως ἀρχαία οὔση καὶ τηλικαύτῃ  
τὸ μέγεθος οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ἀνυπεύθυνος τῶν καὶ ὅπως  
18 οὖν πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσεληλυθότων. διδάξω δ' ὑμῶς  
πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῶν παραδόξων· οἷον τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τὰς  
ἱερείας ὑπευθύνους εἶναι κελεύει ὁ νόμος, καὶ συλ-  
λήβδην ἅπαντας καὶ χωρὶς ἐκάστους κατὰ σῶμα,  
τοὺς τὰ γέρα μόνα λαμβάνοντας καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ  
ὑμῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐχομένους, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἰδίᾳ  
ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινῇ τὰ γένη, Εὐμολπίδας καὶ Κήρυκας  
19 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας. πάλιν τοὺς τριηράρχους  
ὑπευθύνους εἶναι κελεύει ὁ νόμος οὐ τὰ κοινὰ δια-  
χειρίσαντας οὐδ' ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων προσόδων πολλὰ  
μὲν ὑφαιρουμένους βραχέα δὲ κατατιθέντας, ἐπι-  
διδόναι δὲ φάσκοντας, ἀποδιδόντας δὲ ὑμῖν τὰ ὑμέ-  
τερα, ἀλλ' ὁμολογουμένως τὰς πατρῴας οὐσίας εἰς  
τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀνηλωκότας φιλοτιμίαν. οὐ τοίνυν  
μόνοι οἱ τριηράρχοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν τῇ  
πόλει συνεδρίων ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν δικαστηρίων ἔρχεται  
20 ψῆφον. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὴν βουλήν τὴν ἐν Ἀρείῳ  
πάγῳ ἐγγράφειν πρὸς τοὺς λογιστὰς ὁ νόμος κελεύει  
λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας διδόναι, καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ σκυθρωπὸν  
καὶ τῶν μεγίστων κύριον ἄγει ὑπὸ τὴν ὑμέτεραν  
ψῆφον. οὐκ ἄρα στεφανωθήσεται ἡ βουλή ἡ ἐξ  
Ἀρείου πάγου; οὐδὲ γὰρ πάτριον αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν. οὐκ  
ἄρα φιλοτιμοῦνται; πάννυ γε, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀγαπῶσιν  
ἐάν τις παρ' αὐτοῖς μὴ ἀδικῇ, ἀλλ' ἐάν τις ἐξαμαρ-  
τάνῃ κολάζουσιν· οἱ δὲ ὑμέτεροι ῥήτορες τρυφῶσι.  
πάλιν τὴν βουλήν τοὺς πεντακοσίους ὑπεύθυνον  
21 πεποίηκεν ὁ νομοθέτης. καὶ οὕτως ἰσχυρῶς ἀπιστεῖ  
τοῖς ὑπευθύνοις, ὥστ' εὐθὺς ἀρχόμενος τῶν νόμων

λέγει, “ἀρχὴν ὑπεύθυνον” φησὶ “μὴ ἀποδημεῖν.” ὦ  
 Ἡράκλεις, ὑπολάβοι ἄν τις, ὅτι ἤρξα, μὴ ἀποδη-  
 μήσω; ἵνα γε μὴ προλαβὼν χρήματα τῆς πόλεως ἢ  
 πράξεις δρασμῶ χρήσῃ. πάλιν ὑπεύθυνον οὐκ ἔα  
 τὴν οὐσίαν καθιεροῦν οὐδὲ ἀνάθημα ἀναθεῖναι οὐδ’  
 ἐκποιήτῳ γενέσθαι οὐδὲ διαθέσθαι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ οὐδ’  
 ἄλλα πολλά· ἐνὶ δὲ λόγῳ ἐνεχυράζει τὰς οὐσίας ὁ  
 νομοθέτης τὰς τῶν ὑπευθύνων, ἕως ἂν λόγον ἀπο-  
 δώσι τῇ πόλει. ναί, ἀλλ’ ἔστι τις ἄνθρωπος ὅς οὗτ’ 22  
 εἴληφεν οὐδὲν τῶν δημοσίων οὗτ’ ἀνήλωκε, πρὸς-  
 ἦλθε δὲ πρὸς τι τῶν κοινῶν. καὶ τοῦτον ἀποφέρειν  
 57 κελεύει λόγον πρὸς τοὺς λογιστάς. καὶ πῶς ὁ γε  
 μηδὲν λαβὼν μηδ’ ἀναλώσας ἀποίσει λόγον τῇ  
 πόλει; αὐτὸς ὑποβάλλει καὶ διδάσκει ὁ νόμος ἅ χρὴ  
 γράφειν· κελεύει γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐγγράφειν, ὅτι  
 “οὗτ’ ἔλαβον οὐδὲν τῶν τῆς πόλεως οὗτ’ ἀνήλωσα.”  
 ἀνεύθυνον δὲ καὶ ἀνεξέταστον καὶ ἀζήτητον οὐδὲν  
 ἔστι τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει. “Ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, αὐτῶν  
 ἀκούσατε τῶν νόμων.

### NOMOI.

“Ὅταν τοίνυν μάλιστα θρασύνηται Δημοσθένης 23  
 λέγων ὡς διὰ τὴν ἐπίδοσιν οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπεύθυνος,  
 ἐκεῖνο αὐτῷ ὑποβάλλετε· “οὐκ οὖν ἐχρῆν σε ὦ Δη-  
 μόσθενες εἶσαι τὸν τῶν λογιστῶν κήρυκα κηρῦξαι  
 τὸ πάτριον καὶ ἔννομον κήρυγμα τοῦτο, τίς βούλεται  
 κατηγορεῖν; ἔασον ἀμφισβητῆσαί σοι τὸν βουλόμε-  
 νον τῶν πολιτῶν ὡς οὐκ ἐπέδωκας, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ πολλῶν  
 ὧν ἔχεις εἰς τὴν τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομίαν μικρὰ κατέ-  
 θηκας, δέκα τάλαντα εἰς ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἴλη-



φώς. μὴ ἄρπαξε τὴν φιλοτιμίαν, μηδὲ ἐξαιροῦ τῶν δικαστῶν τὰς ψήφους ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν, μηδ' ἔμπροσθεν τῶν νόμων ἀλλ' ὕστερος πολιτεύου. ταῦτα γὰρ ὀρθοῖ τὴν δημοκρατίαν."

- 24 Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὰς κενὰς προφάσεις, ἃς οὔτοι προφασιοῦνται, μέχρι δεῦρο εἰρήσθω μοι· ὅτι δὲ ὄντως ἦν ὑπεύθυνος ὁ Δημοσθένης ὅθ' οὗτος εἰσήνεγκε τὸ ψήφισμα, ἄρχων μὲν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ ἀρχήν, ἄρχων δὲ τὴν τῶν τειχοποιῶν, οὐδετέρας δέ πω τῶν ἀρχῶν τούτων λόγον ὑμῖν οὐδ' εὐθύνας δεδωκώς, ταῦτ' ἤδη πειράσομαι ὑμᾶς διδάσκειν ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων. Καί μοι ἀνάγνωθι ἐπὶ τίνος ἄρχοντος καὶ ποίου μηνὸς καὶ ἐν τίνι ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν ποίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐχειροτονήθη Δημοσθένης τὴν ἀρχήν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ.

### ΔΙΑΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΗΜΕΡΩΝ.

Οὐκοῦν εἰ μηδὲν ἔτι περαιτέρω τούτου δείξαιμι, δικαίως ἂν ἀλίσκοιτο Κτησιφῶν· αἰρεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐχ ἡ κατηγορία ἢ ἐμὴ ἀλλὰ τὰ δημόσια γράμματα.

- 25 Πρότερον μὲν τοίνυν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖσι, ἀντιγραφεὺς ἦν χειροτονητὸς τῇ πόλει, ὥς καθ' ἐκάστην πρυτανείαν ἀπελογίζετο τὰς προσόδους τῷ δήμῳ· διὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς Εὐβουλον γενομένην πίστιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικὸν κεχειροτονημένοι ἦρχον μὲν πρὶν ἢ τὸν Ἡγήμονος νόμον γενέσθαι τὴν τοῦ ἀντιγραφέως ἀρχήν, ἦρχον δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀποδεκτῶν, καὶ νεώριον καὶ σκευοθήκην ᾠκοδόμεουν, ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ὁδοποιοὶ καὶ σχεδὸν τὴν ὅλην διοίκησιν εἶχον τῆς πόλεως.
- 26 καὶ οὐ κατηγορῶν αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἐπιτιμᾶν λέγω, ἀλλ'



ἐκεῖνο ὑμῖν ἐνδείξασθαι βούλομαι, ὅτι ὁ μὲν νομοθέτης, εἰάν τις μιᾶς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐλαχίστης ὑπεύθυνος ᾖ, τοῦτον οὐκ ἔα πρὶν ἂν λόγους καὶ εὐθύνας δῶ στεφανοῦν, ὁ δὲ Κτησιφῶν Δημοσθένην τὸν συλλήβδην ἀπάσας τὰς Ἀθήνησιν ἀρχὰς ἄρχοντα οὐκ ὤκνησε γράψαι στεφανῶσαι.

Ὡς τοίνυν καὶ τὴν τῶν τειχοποιῶν ἀρχὴν ἦρχεν 27 ὅθ' οὗτος τὸ ψήφισμα ἔγραψε, καὶ τὰ δημόσια χρήματα διεχειρίζε καὶ ἐπιβολὰς ἐπέβαλλε καθάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄρχοντες, καὶ δικαστηρίων ἡγεμονίας ἐλάβανε, τοιῶν ὑμῖν αὐτὸν Δημοσθένην καὶ Κτησιφῶντα μάρτυρας παρέξομαι. ἐπὶ γὰρ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος θαργηλιῶνος μηνὸς δευτέρᾳ φθίνοντος ἐκκλησίας οὔσης ἔγραψε ψήφισμα Δημοσθένης ἀγορὰν ποιῆσαι τῶν φυλῶν σκιροφοριῶνος δευτέρᾳ ἵσταμένου καὶ τρίτῃ, καὶ ἐπέταξεν ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι ἐκάστη τῶν φυλῶν ἐλέσθαι τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους τῶν ἔργων ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη καὶ ταμίας, καὶ μάλα ὀρθῶς, ἵν' ἡ πόλις ἔχοι ὑπεύθυνα σώματα, παρ' ὧν ἔμελλε τῶν ἀνηλωμένων λόγον ἀπολήψεσθαι. Καὶ μοι λέγε τὰ ψηφίσματα.

### ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

Ναί, ἀλλ' ἀντιδιαπλέκει πρὸς τοῦτο εὐθύς 28 λέγων ὡς οὗτ' ἔλαχε τειχοποιὸς οὗτ' ἐχειροτονήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου. καὶ περὶ τούτου Δημοσθένης μὲν καὶ Κτησιφῶν πολὺν ποιήσονται λόγον· ὁ δέ γε νόμος βραχὺς καὶ σαφὴς καὶ ταχὺ λύων τὰς τούτων 58 τέχνας. μικρὰ δὲ ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πρῶτον προειπεῖν βούλομαι. ἔστι γὰρ ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν περὶ 29 τὰς ἀρχὰς εἶδη τρία, ὧν ἐν μὲν καὶ φανερώτατον οἱ

κληρωτοὶ καὶ οἱ χειροτονητοὶ ἄρχοντες, δεύτερον δὲ ὅσοι τι διαχειρίζουσι τῶν τῆς πόλεως ὑπὲρ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ οἱ τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων ἐπιστάται· τρίτον δ' ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται, καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι αἵρετοὶ ἡγεμονίας δικαστηρίων λαμβάνουσι, καὶ τούτους ἄρχειν δοκιμασθέντας. ἐπειδὴν δ' ἀφέλῃ τις τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κεχειροτονημένους καὶ τοὺς κληρωτοὺς ἄρχοντας, καταλείπεται, οὓς αἱ φυλαὶ καὶ αἱ τριπτύες καὶ οἱ δῆμοι ἐξ ἑαυτῶν αἱροῦνται τὰ δημόσια χρήματα διαχειρίζειν, τούτους αἵρετοὺς ἄρχοντας εἶναι. τοῦτο δὲ γίγνεται ὅταν, ὥσπερ νῦν, ἐπιταχθῇ τι ταῖς φυλαῖς, ἢ τάφρους ἐξεργάζεσθαι ἢ τριήρεις ναυπηγεῖσθαι. "Οτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων μαθήσεσθε.

### NOMOI.

31 Ἀναμνήσθητε δὴ τοὺς προειρημένους λόγους, ὅτι ὁ μὲν νομοθέτης τοὺς ἐκ τῶν φυλῶν ἄρχειν κελεύει δοκιμασθέντας ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, ἡ δὲ Πανδιονὶς φυλὴ ἄρχοντα καὶ τειχοποιὸν ἀπέδειξε Δημοσθένην, ὃς ἐκ τῆς διοικήσεως εἰς ταῦτα ἔχει μικροῦ δεῖν δέκα τάλαντα, ἕτερος δ' ἀπαγορεύει νόμος ἀρχὴν ὑπεύθυνον μὴ στεφανοῦν, ὑμεῖς δὲ ὁμωμόκατε κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ψηφιεῖσθαι, ὁ δὲ ῥήτωρ γέγραφε τὸν ὑπεύθυνον στεφανοῦν οὐ προσθεὶς "ἐπειδὴν δὲ λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας", ἐγὼ δὲ ἐξελέγχω τὸ παράνομον μάρτυρας ἵμα τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα καὶ τοὺς ἀντιδίκους παρεχόμενος. πῶς οὖν ἂν τις περιφρονέστερον ἐπιδείξειεν ἄνθρωπον παρανομάτατα γεγραφότα;

Ὡς τοίνυν καὶ τὴν ἀνάρρησιν τοῦ στεφάνου 32  
 παρὰ νόμῳ ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι κελεύει γίγνεσθαι, καὶ  
 τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς διδάξω. ὁ γὰρ νόμος διαρρήδην κελεύει,  
 εἰ μὲν τινα στεφανοῖ ἢ βουλή, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ  
 ἀνακηρύττεσθαι, εἰ δὲ ὁ δῆμος, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ,  
 ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ. Καί μοι λέγε τὸν νόμον.

### NOMOS.

Οὗτος ὁ νόμος, ὃ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ μάλα καλῶς 33  
 ἔχει. οὐ γὰρ (οἶμαι) ὥς το δεῖν ὁ νομοθέτης τὸν ῥήτορα  
 σεμνύνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἔξωθεν, ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾶν ἐν αὐτῇ  
 τῇ πόλει τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ μὴ ἐργο-  
 λαβεῖν ἐν τοῖς κηρύγμασιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν νομοθέτης  
 οὕτως· ὁ δὲ Κτησιφῶν πῶς; Ἀναγίνωσκε τὸ ψή-  
 φισμα.

### ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Ἀκούετε, ὃ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ὁ μὲν νομοθέτης κελεύει 34  
 ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ἐν Πυκνῇ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀνακηρύττειν τὸν  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον, ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ,  
 Κτησιφῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, οὐ τοὺς νόμους μόνον  
 ὑπερβὰς ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τόπον μετενεγκών, οὐδὲ ἐκ-  
 κλησιαζόντων Ἀθηναίων ἀλλὰ τραγωδῶν ἀγωνιζο-  
 μένων καινῶν, οὐδ' ἐναντίον τοῦ δήμου ἀλλ' ἐναντίον  
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἧς ἡμῖν συνειδῶσιν οἷον ἄνδρα τιμώ-  
 μεν. οὕτω τοίνυν περιφανῶς παράνομα γεγραφώς, 35  
 παραταχθεὶς μετὰ Δημοσθένους ἐποίσει τέχνας τοῖς  
 νόμοις· ἃς ἐγὼ δηλώσω καὶ προερῶ ὑμῖν, ἵνα μὴ  
 λάθητε ἐξαπατηθέντες. οὗτοι γάρ, ὥς μὲν οὐκ ἀπα-  
 γορεύουσιν οἱ νόμοι τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμε-



- νον μὴ κηρύττειν ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, οὐχ ἔξουσι  
 λέγειν, οἴσουσι δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀπολογίαν τὸν Διονυσια-  
 κὸν νόμον, καὶ χρήσονται τοῦ νόμου μέρος τινὶ κλέ-  
 36 πτοντες τὴν ἀκρόασιν ὑμῶν, καὶ παρέξονται νόμον  
 οὐδὲν προσήκοντα τῇδε τῇ γραφῇ, καὶ λέξουσιν ὡς  
 εἰσὶ τῇ πόλει δύο νόμοι κείμενοι περὶ τῶν κηρυγ-  
 μάτων, εἷς μὲν ὃν νῦν ἐγὼ παρέχομαι διαρρήδην  
 ἀπαγορεύων τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον μὴ  
 κηρύττεσθαι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας. ἕτερον δ' εἶναι  
 νόμον φήσουσιν ἐναντίον τούτῳ, τὸν δεδοκότα  
 ἐξουσίαν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀνάρρησιν τοῦ στεφάνου  
 τραγωδοῖς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, εἰς ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος·  
 κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον φήσουσι γεγραφέναι τὸν  
 37 Κτησιφῶντα. ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τὰς τούτων τέχνας  
 παρέξομαι συνηγόρους τοὺς νόμους τοὺς ὑμετέ-  
 ρους, ὑπερ διατελῶ σπουδάζων παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν 59  
 κατηγορίαν. εἰ γὰρ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἀληθὲς καὶ τοιοῦτον  
 ἔθος παραδέδουκεν ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν ὥστ'  
 ἀκύρους νόμους ἐν τοῖς κυρίοις ἀναγεγράφθαι καὶ  
 δύο περὶ μιᾶς πράξεως ὑπεναντίους ἀλλήλοις, τι  
 ἂν ἔτι ταύτην εἴποι τις εἶναι τὴν πολιτείαν, ἐν ᾗ  
 ταῦτά προστάττουσιν οἱ νόμοι ποιεῖν καὶ μὴ ποιεῖν;  
 38 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχει ταῦθ' οὕτως· μήθ' ὑμεῖς ποτε εἰς  
 τοσαύτην ἀταξίαν τῶν νόμων προβαίητε, οὔτε  
 ἡμέληται περὶ τῶν τοιούτων τῷ νομοθέτῃ τῷ τὴν  
 δημοκρατίαν καταστήσαντι, ἀλλὰ διαρρήδην προσ-  
 τέτακται τοῖς θεσμοθέταις καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν  
 διορθοῦν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τοὺς νόμους, ἀκριβῶς ἐξετά-  
 σαντας καὶ σκεψαμένους εἴ τις ἀναγέγραπται νόμος  
 ἐναντίος ἐτέρῳ νόμῳ ἢ ἄκυρος ἐν τοῖς κυρίοις, ἢ εἴ



πού εἰσι νόμοι πλείους ἑνὸς ἀναγεγραμμένοι περὶ  
 ἐκάστης πράξεως. καὶν τι τοιοῦτον εὐρίσκωσιν, ἀνα- 39  
 γεγραφύτας ἐν σανίσιν ἐκτιθέναι κελεύει πρόσθεν  
 τῶν ἐπωνύμων, τοὺς δὲ πρυτάνεις ποιεῖν ἐκκλησίαν  
 ἐπιγράψαντας “νομοθέταις,” τὸν δ’ ἐπιστάτην τῶν  
 προέδρων διαχειροτονίαν διδόναι τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ τοὺς  
 μὲν ἀναιρεῖν τῶν νόμων τοὺς δὲ καταλείπειν, ὅπως  
 ἂν εἷς ἡ νόμος καὶ μὴ πλείους περὶ ἐκάστης πράξεως.  
 Καὶ μοι λέγε τοὺς νόμους.

### NOMOI.

Εἰ τοίνυν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖσι, ἀληθὴς ἦν ὁ παρὰ τού- 40  
 των λόγος καὶ ἦσαν δύο κείμενοι νόμοι περὶ τῶν  
 κηρυγμάτων, ἐξ ἀνάγκης οἶμαι τῶν μὲν θεσμο-  
 θετῶν ἐξευρόντων τῶν δὲ πρυτάνεων ἀποδόντων τοῖς  
 νομοθέταις ἀνήρητ’ ἂν ὁ ἕτερος τῶν νόμων, ἥτοι ὁ  
 τὴν ἐξουσίαν δεδωκὼς ἀνειπεῖν ἢ ὁ ἀπαγορεύων.  
 ὅποτε δὲ μηδὲν τούτων γεγένηται, φανερώς δὴ που  
 ἐξελέγχονται οὐ μόνον ψευδῇ λέγοντες ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 παντελῶς ἀδύνατα γενέσθαι. ὅθεν δὲ δὴ τὸ ψευ- 41  
 δος τοῦτο ἐπιφέρουσιν, ἐγὼ διδάξω ὑμᾶς προειπὼν  
 ὧν ἕνεκα οἱ νόμοι ἐτέθησαν οἱ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ  
 κηρυγμάτων. γιγνομένων γὰρ τῶν ἐν ἄστει τραγω-  
 δῶν ἀνεκήρυττόντινες, οὐ πείσαντες τὸν δῆμον, οἱ μὲν  
 ὅτι στεφανοῦνται ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν, ἕτεροι δ’ ὑπὸ  
 τῶν δημοτῶν. ἄλλοι δέ τινες ὑποκηρυζάμενοι τοὺς  
 αὐτῶν οἰκέτας ἀφίεσαν ἐλευθέρους, μάρτυρας [τῆς  
 ἀπελευθερίας] τοὺς Ἑλληνας ποιοῦμενοι, ὃ δ’ ἦν 42  
 ἐπιφθονώτατον, προξενίας τινὲς εὐρημένοι ἐν ταῖς  
 ἔξω πόλεσι διεπράττοντο ἀναγορεύεσθαι ὅτι στεφα-

νοῖ αὐτοὺς ὁ δῆμος, εἰ οὕτω τύχοι, ὁ τῶν Ῥοδίων ἢ  
 Χίων ἢ καὶ ἄλλης τινὸς πόλεως ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ  
 ἀνδραγαθίας. καὶ ταῦτ' ἔπραττον οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ  
 ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας στεφανούμενοι ἢ ὑπὸ  
 τοῦ δήμου, πείσαντες ὑμᾶς καὶ μετὰ ψηφίσματος,  
 πολλὴν χάριν καταθέμενοι, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ προελόμενοι  
 43 ἄνευ δόγματος ὑμετέρου. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τοῦ τρόπου  
 συνέβαινε τοὺς μὲν θεατὰς καὶ τοὺς χορηγοὺς καὶ  
 τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς ἐνοχλεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀνακηρυττο-  
 μένους ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ μείζοσι τιμᾶσθαι τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 δήμου στεφανουμένων. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀπεδέδεικτο  
 τόπος ἢ ἐκκλησία, ἐν ᾗ χρῆν στεφανοῦσθαι, καὶ  
 ἀπείρητο ἄλλοθι μηδαμοῦ κηρύττεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἀνηγο-  
 ρεῦντο ἐνώπιον ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων· καὶ κεῖνοι  
 μὲν μετὰ ψηφίσματος, πείσαντες ὑμᾶς, οὗτοι δ'  
 44 ἄνευ ψηφίσματος. συνιδὼν δὲ τις ταῦτα νομοθέτης  
 τίθησι νόμον οὐδὲν ἐπικοινωνοῦντα τῷ περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ  
 τοῦ δήμου στεφανουμένων νόμῳ, οὔτε λύσας ἐκείνους  
 (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἢ ἐκκλησία ἡνοχλεῖτο ἀλλὰ τὸ θέατρον)  
 οὔτ' ἐναντίον τοῖς πρότερον κειμένοις νόμοις τιθεῖς  
 (οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστιν), ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ἄνευ ψηφίσματος  
 ὑμετέρου στεφανουμένων ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν καὶ δη-  
 μοτῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν οἰκέτας ἀπελευθερούντων  
 καὶ περὶ τῶν ξενικῶν στεφάνων, καὶ διαρρήδην ἀπα-  
 γορεύει μὴτ' οἰκέτην ἀπελευθεροῦν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ  
 μὴθ' ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν ἢ δημοτῶν ἀναγορεύεσθαι  
 στεφανούμενον, μὴθ' ὑπ' ἄλλου (φησὶ) μηδενός, ἢ  
 45 ἄτιμον εἶναι τὸν κήρυκα. ὅταν οὖν ἀποδείξῃ τοῖς 60  
 μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς στεφανουμένοις εἰς τὸ βουλευ-  
 τήριον ἀναρρηθῆναι, τοῖς δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφα-

νουμένοις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τοῖς δ' ὑπὸ τῶν δημο-  
 τῶν στεφανουμένοις καὶ φυλετῶν ἀπείπη μὴ κηρύτ-  
 τεσθαι τοῖς τραγωδοῖς, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἐρανίζων στε-  
 φάνους καὶ κηρύγματα ψευδῇ φιλοτιμίαν κτᾶται,  
 προσαπείπη δὲ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ μὴδ' ὑπὸ ἄλλου μηδενὸς  
 ἀνακηρύττεσθαι, ἀπούσης βουλῆς καὶ δήμου καὶ φυ-  
 λετῶν καὶ δημοτῶν,—ἔταν δέ τις ταῦτα ἀφέλη, τί  
 τὸ καταλειπόμενον ἐστὶ πλὴν οἱ ξενικοὶ στέφανοι;  
 Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῇ λέγω, μέγα σημεῖον ὑμῖν τούτου ἐξ 46  
 αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων ἐπιδείξω. αὐτὸν γὰρ τὸν χρυσοῦν  
 στέφανον, ὃς ἂν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τῷ ἐν ἄστει ἀναρ-  
 ρηθῇ, ἱερὸν εἶναι τῆς Ἀθηνῶς κελεύει ὁ νόμος,  
 ἀφελόμενος τὸν στεφανούμενον. καίτοι τίς ἂν ὑμῶν  
 τολμήσειε τοσαύτην ἀνελευθερίαν καταγνῶναι τοῦ  
 δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων; μὴ γὰρ ὅτι πόλις, ἀλλ' οὐδ'  
 ἂν ιδιώτης οὐδὲ εἰς οὕτως ἀγεννῆς γένοιτο, ὥστε ὃν  
 αὐτὸς ἔδωκε στέφανον ἅμα ἀνακηρύττειν καὶ ἀφαι-  
 ρεῖσθαι καὶ καθιεροῦν. ἀλλ', οἶμαι, διὰ τὸ ξενικὸν  
 εἶναι τὸν στέφανον καὶ ἡ καθιέρωσις γίγνεται, ἵνα  
 μηδεὶς ἄλλοτρίαν εὖνοϊαν περὶ πλείονος ποιούμενος  
 τῆς πατρίδος χείρων γένηται τὴν ψυχὴν. ἀλλ' οὐκ 47  
 ἐκείνον τὸν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ στέφανον ἀναρρηθέντα  
 οὐδεὶς καθιεροῖ, ἀλλ' ἔξεστι κεκτῆσθαι, ἵνα μὴ μόνον  
 αὐτὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἐξ ἐκείνου, ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τὸ  
 ὑπόμνημα, μηδέποτε κακοὶ τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς τὸν δῆμον  
 γίγνωνται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προσέθηκεν ὁ νομοθέτης  
 μὴ κηρύττεσθαι τὸν ἀλλότριον στέφανον ἐν τῷ  
 θεάτρῳ, εἰ μὴ ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος, ἢ ἡ πόλις ἢ  
 βουλομένη τινὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων στεφανοῦν πρέσβεις  
 πέμψασα δεηθῇ τοῦ δήμου, ἵνα κηρυττόμενος μείζω



χάριν εἶδῃ τῶν στεφανούντων ὑμῖν, ὅτι κηρύξαι ἐπετρέψατε. Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, τῶν νόμων αὐτῶν ἀκούσατε.

### NOMOI.

48 Ἐπειδὴν τοίνυν ἐξαπατῶντες ὑμᾶς λέγωσιν ὡς προσγέγραπται ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ἐξεῖναι στεφανοῦν, εἰ μὴ ψηφίσῃται ὁ δῆμος, ἀπομνημονεύετε αὐτοῖς ὑποβάλλειν· ναί, εἰ γέ σέ τις ἄλλη πόλις στεφανοῖ· εἰ δὲ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων, ἀποδέδεικταί σοι τόπος ὅπου δεῖ τοῦτο γενέσθαι, ἀπείρηταί σοι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας μὴ κηρύττεσθαι. τὸ γὰρ “ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ” ὅτι ἐστὶν ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν λέγε· οὐ γὰρ ἀποδείξεις ὡς ἔννομα γέγραπεν.

49 Ἔστι δὲ ὑπόλοιπόν μοι μέρος τῆς κατηγορίας, ἐφ' ᾧ μάλιστα σπουδάζω· τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ πρόφασις δι' ἣν αὐτὸν ἀξιοῖ στεφανοῦσθαι. λέγει γὰρ οὕτως ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι, “καὶ τὸν κήρυκα ἀναγορεύειν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὅτι στεφανοῖ αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας” καὶ τὸ μέγιστον “ὅτι διατελεῖ λέ-  
50 γων καὶ πράττων τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ.” ἀπλοῦς δὴ παντάπασις ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡμῖν λόγος γίγνεται, καὶ ὑμῖν ἀκούσασι κρίναι εὐμαθής· δεῖ γὰρ δή που τὸν μὲν κατηγοροῦντα ἐμὲ τοῦθ' ὑμῖν ἐπιδεικνύναι, ὡς εἰσιν οἱ κατὰ Δημοσθένους ἔπαινοι ψευδεῖς καὶ ὡς οὐτ' ἥρξατο λέγειν τὰ βέλτιστα οὔτε νῦν διατελεῖ πράττων τὰ συμφέροντα τῷ δήμῳ. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπιδείξω, δικαίως δὴ που τὴν γραφὴν ἀλώσεται Κτησιφῶν· ἅπαντες γὰρ ἀπαγορεύουσιν οἱ νόμοι μηδένα



ψευδῇ γράμματα ἐγγράφειν ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις ψη-  
φίσμασι. τῷ δ' ἀπολογουμένῳ τούναντίον τούτου  
δεικτέον ἐστίν. ὑμεῖς δ' ἡμῖν ἔσεσθε τῶν λόγων  
κριταί. ἔχει δ' οὕτως.

Ἐγὼ τὸν μὲν βίον τὸν Δημοσθένους ἐξετάζειν 51  
μακροτέρου λόγου ἔργον ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι. τί γὰρ δεῖ  
νῦν ταῦτα λέγειν, ἢ τὰ περὶ τὴν τοῦ τραύματος γρα-  
φὴν αὐτῷ συμβεβηκότα, ὅτ' ἐγράψατο εἰς Ἀρείου  
πάγον Δημομέλην τὸν Παιανιέα ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα ἑαυτῷ,  
καὶ τὴν τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπιτομήν· ἢ τὰ περὶ τὴν Κη-  
φισοδότου στρατηγίαν καὶ τὸν τῶν νεῶν ἔκπλουν  
61 τὸν εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον, ὅτε εἰς ὧν τῶν τριηράρχων 52  
Δημοσθένης καὶ περιάγων τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῆς  
νεῶς καὶ συσσιτῶν καὶ συνθύων καὶ συσπένδων, καὶ  
τούτων ἀξιωθεὶς διὰ τὸ πατρικὸς αὐτῷ φίλος εἶναι,  
οὐκ ὤκνησεν ἀπ' εἰσαγγελίας αὐτοῦ κρινομένου περὶ  
θανάτου κατήγορος γενέσθαι· καὶ ταῦτα ἤδη τὰ περὶ  
Μειδίαν καὶ τοὺς κονδύλους οὓς ἔλαβεν ἐν τῇ ὀρχή-  
στρᾳ χορηγὸς ὢν, καὶ ὡς ἀπέδοτο τριάκοντα μνῶν  
ἅμα τὴν τε εἰς αὐτὸν ὕβριν καὶ τὴν τοῦ δήμου κατα-  
χειροτονίαν, ἣν ἐν Διονύσου κατεχειροτόνησε Μει-  
δίου. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μοι δοκῶ καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ τούτοις 53  
ὅμοια ὑπερβήσεσθαι, οὐ προδιδόνς ὑμᾶς οὐδὲ τὸν  
ἀγῶνα καταχαριζόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐκείνο φοβούμενος μὴ  
μοι παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπαντήσῃ τὸ δοκεῖν μὲν ἀληθῆ  
λέγειν, ἀρχαῖα δὲ καὶ λίαν ὁμολογούμενα. καίτοι ὦ  
Κτησιφῶν, ὅτῳ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν αἰσχυρῶν οὕτως  
ἐστὶ πιστὰ καὶ γνώριμα τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, ὥστε τὸν  
κατήγορον μὴ δοκεῖν ψευδῇ λέγειν ἀλλὰ παλαιὰ καὶ  
λίαν προωμολογημένα, πότερ' αὐτὸν δεῖ χρυσῷ στε-

φάνω στεφανωθῆναι ἢ ψέγεσθαι; καὶ σὲ τὸν ψευδῆ  
 καὶ παράνομα τολμῶντα γράφειν πότερα χρὴ κατα-  
 φρονεῖν τῶν δικαστηρίων ἢ δίκην τῇ πόλει διδόναι;  
 54 Περὶ δὲ τῶν δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων πειράσομαι σα-  
 φέστερον εἰπεῖν. καὶ γὰρ πυνθάνομαι μέλλειν Δη-  
 μοσθένην, ἐπειδὰν αὐτοῖς ὁ λόγος ἀποδοθῇ, κατα-  
 ριθμείσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὡς ἄρα τῇ πόλει τέτταρες ἤδη  
 γεγέννηται καιροὶ ἐν οἷς αὐτὸς πεπολίτευται. ἓν  
 ἓνα μὲν καὶ πρῶτον, ὡς ἔγωγε ἀκούω, καταλογίζεται  
 ἐκείνῳ τὸν χρόνον ἐν ᾧ πρὸς Φίλιππον ὑπὲρ Ἀμ-  
 φιπόλεως ἐπολεμοῦμεν· τούτου δ' ἀφορίζεται τῇ  
 γενομένη εἰρήνῃ καὶ συμμαχίᾳ, ἣν Φιλοκράτης ὁ  
 Ἀγνούσιος ἔγραψε καὶ αὐτὸς οὗτος μετ' ἐκείνου, ὡς  
 55 ἐγὼ δείξω. δεύτερον δέ φησι γενέσθαι ὃν ἡγομεν  
 χρόνον τὴν εἰρήνην, δηλονότι μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας  
 ἐκείνης ἐν ᾗ καταλύσας τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν εἰρήνην τῇ  
 πόλει ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος ῥήτωρ ἔγραψε τὸν πόλεμον·  
 τρίτον δὲ ὃν ἐπολεμοῦμεν χρόνον μέχρι τῆς ἀτυχίας  
 τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ, τέταρτον δὲ τὸν νῦν παρόντα  
 καιρόν. ταῦτα δὲ καταριθμησάμενος, ὡς ἀκούω,  
 μέλλει με παρακαλεῖν καὶ ἐπερωτᾶν ὁποίου τούτων  
 τῶν τεττάρων αὐτοῦ καιρῶν κατηγορῶ καὶ πότε αὐ-  
 τὸν οὐ τὰ βέλτιστά φημι τῷ δήμῳ πεπολιτεῦσθαι·  
 καὶ μὴ ἴθελω ἀποκρίνασθαι ἀλλ' ἐγκαλύπτωμαι καὶ  
 ἀποδιδράσκω, ἐκκαλύψειν μὲ φησι προσελθὼν καὶ  
 ἄξειν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ ἀναγκάσειν ἀποκρίνασθαι.  
 56 ἢν' οὖν μήθ' οὗτος ἰσχυρίζεται ὑμεῖς τε προειδῆτε,  
 ἐγὼ ἀποκρίνομαι ἐναντίον σοι τῶν δικαστῶν Δημό-  
 σθενες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν ὅσοι δὴ ἔξωθεν περι-  
 εστᾶσι καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅσοις ἐπιμελὲς γέγονεν

ἐπακούειν τῆσδε τῆς κρίσεως (ὁρῶ δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγους παρόντας, ἀλλ' ὅσους οὐδεὶς πώποτε μέμνηται πρὸς ἀγῶνα δημόσιον παραγενομένους)—ἀποκρίνομαι ὅτι ἀπάντων τῶν τεττάρων καιρῶν κατηγορῶ σου, οὓς σὺ διαιρῇ, καὶν οἳ τε θεοὶ ἑέλωσι καὶ οἱ δικασταὶ ἐξ 57 ἴσου ἡμῶν ἀκούσωσι καὶ γὰρ δύνωμαι ἀπομνημονεῦσαι ἅ σοι σύνοιδα, πάνυ προσδοκῶ ἐπιδείξειν τοῖς δικασταῖς τῆς μὲν σωτηρίας τῇ πόλει τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτίους γεγενημένους καὶ τοὺς φιλανθρώπως καὶ μετρίως τοῖς τῆς πόλεως πράγμασι χρησαμένους, τῶν δὲ ἀτυχημάτων ἀπάντων Δημοσθένην [αἴτιον γεγενημένον.] καὶ χρήσομαι τῇ τοῦ λόγου τάξει ταύτῃ ἣν τοῦτον πυθάνομαι ποιεῖσθαι μέλλειν, λέξω δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ πρώτου καιροῦ καὶ δευτέρου περὶ τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ τρίτον περὶ τοῦ ἐφεξῆς καὶ τέταρτον περὶ τῶν νῦν καθεστηκότων πραγμάτων. καὶ δὴ ἐπανάγω ἑμαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην, ἣν σὺ καὶ Φιλοκράτης ἐγράψατε.

Ἔμιν γὰρ ἐξεγένετ' ἄν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν προτέ- 58 ραν ἐκείνην εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἴ τινες ὑμᾶς εἶσαν περιμεῖναι τὰς πρεσβείας ἃς ἦτε ἐκπεπομφότες κατ' ἐκείνους τὸν καιρὸν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ Φίλιππον,—μετασχεῖν Ἑλληνικοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου παρ' ἐκόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν· καὶ τούτων ἀπεστερήθητε διὰ Δημοσθένην καὶ Φιλοκράτην καὶ τὰς τούτων δωροδοκίας, ἃς ἐδωροδόκησαν συστάντες ἐπὶ τὸ δημόσιον τὸ ὑμέτερον· εἰ δέ τισιν ὑμῶν ἐξαίφνης 59 ἀκούσασιν ἀπιστότερος προσπέπτωκεν ὁ τοιοῦτος



λόγος, ἐκείνως τὴν ὑπόλοιπον ποιήσασθε ἀκράσιν,  
 ὥσπερ ὅταν περὶ χρημάτων ἀνηλωμένων διὰ πολλοῦ  
 χρόνου καθεζόμεθα ἐπὶ τοὺς λογισμούς. ἐρχόμεθα  
 δὴ που ψευδεῖς οἰκοθεν ἐνίστε δόξας ἔχοντες κατὰ  
 τῶν λογισμῶν· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐπειδὴν ὁ λογισμὸς συγ-  
 κεφαλαιωθῇ, οὐδεὶς ὑμῶν ἐστὶν οὕτω δύσκολος τὴν  
 φύσιν, ὅστις οὐκ ἀπέρχεται τοῦθ' ὁμολογήσας καὶ  
 ἐπινεύσας ἀληθὲς εἶναι ὅ τι ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ λογισμὸς  
 60 αἰρή. οὕτω καὶ νῦν τὴν ἀκράσιν ποιήσασθε. εἰ  
 τινες ὑμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνων ἤκουσιν οἰκοθεν  
 τοιαύτην ἔχοντες τὴν δόξαν, ὥς ἄρα ὁ Δημοσθένης  
 οὐδὲν πᾶποτε εἴρηκεν ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου συστάς μετὰ  
 Φιλοκράτους, — ὅστις οὕτω διάκειται, μήτ' ἀπογνώτω  
 μηδὲν μήτε καταγνώτω πρὶν ἂν ἀκούσῃ· οὐ γὰρ  
 δίκαιον. ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἐμοῦ διὰ βραχέων ἀκούσητε  
 ὑπομιμνήσκοντος τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα  
 παρεχομένου ὃ μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἔγραψε Δημο-  
 σθένης, ἐὰν αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας λογισμὸς ἐγκατα-  
 λαμβάνῃ τὸν Δημοσθένην πλείω μὲν γεγραφότα  
 ψηφίσματα Φιλοκράτους περὶ τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰρήνης  
 61 καὶ συμμαχίας, καθ' ὑπερβολὴν δὲ αἰσχύνῃς κεκο-  
 λακευκότα Φίλιππον καὶ τοὺς παρ' ἐκείνου πρέσβεις,  
 αἴτιον δὲ γεγονότα τῷ δήμῳ τοῦ μὴ μετὰ κοινοῦ  
 συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην,  
 ἔκδοτον δὲ [Φιλίππῳ] πεποιηκότα Κερσοβλέπτην τὸν  
 Θράκης βασιλέα, ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον τῇ  
 πόλει, — ἐὰν ταῦθ' ὑμῖν σαφῶς ἐπιδείξω, δεήσομαι  
 ὑμῶν μετρίαν δέξιν· ἐπινεύσατέ μοι πρὸς θεῶν τὸν  
 πρῶτον τῶν τεττάρων καιρῶν μὴ καλῶς αὐτὸν πεπο-  
 λιτεῦσθαι. λέξω δὲ ὅθεν μάλιστα παρακολουθήσετε.



Ἐγραψε Φιλοκράτης ἐξεῖναι Φιλίππῳ δεῦρο 62  
 κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπειν περὶ εἰρήνης· τοῦτο  
 τὸ ψήφισμα ἐγράφη παρανόμων. ἤκου οἱ τῆς κρί-  
 σεως χρόνοι· κατηγόρει μὲν Λυκῖνος ὁ γραψάμενος,  
 ἀπελογοεῖτο δὲ Φιλοκράτης, συναπελογοεῖτο δὲ καὶ  
 Δημοσθένης· ἀπέφυγε Φιλοκράτης. μετὰ ταῦτα  
 ἐπῆει χρόνος Θεμιστοκλῆς ἄρχων· ἐνταῦθ' εἰσέρ-  
 χεται βουλευτῆς εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον Δημοσθένης,  
 οὔτε λαχὼν οὔτ' ἐπιλαχὼν, ἀλλ' ἐκ παρασκευῆς  
 πριάμενος, ἵν' εἰς ὑποδοχὴν ἅπαντα καὶ λέγοι καὶ  
 πράττοι Φιλοκράτει, ὡς αὐτὸ ἔδειξε τὸ ἔργον. νικᾷ 63  
 γὰρ ἕτερον ψήφισμα Φιλοκράτης, ἐν ᾧ κελεύει ἐλέ-  
 σθαι δέκα πρέσβεις, οὔτινες ἀφικόμενοι πρὸς Φίλιπ-  
 πον ἀξιώσουσιν αὐτὸν δεῦρο πρέσβεις αὐτοκρά-  
 τορας πέμπειν ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης. τούτων εἷς ἦν  
 Δημοσθένης. κακείθεν ἐπανήκων ἐπαινέτης ἦν τῆς  
 εἰρήνης, καὶ ταῦτὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις πρέσβεσιν ἀπήγ-  
 γελλε, καὶ μόνος τῶν ἄλλων βουλευτῶν ἔγραψε  
 σπείσασθαι τῷ κήρυκι τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ  
 τοῖς πρέσβεσιν, ἀκόλουθα γράφων Φιλοκράτει· ὁ  
 μὲν γε τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκε τοῦ δεῦρο κήρυκα καὶ  
 πρέσβεις πέμπεσθαι, ὁ δὲ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ σπένδεται.  
 τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἤδη μοι σφόδρα προσέχετε τὸν 64  
 νοῦν. ἐπράττετο γὰρ οὐ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πρέσβεις  
 τοὺς πολλὰ συκοφαντηθέντας ὕστερον ἐκ μετα-  
 βολῆς ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Φιλοκράτην  
 καὶ Δημοσθένην (εἰκότως· τοὺς ἅμα μὲν πρεσβεύ-  
 οντας, ἅμα δὲ τὰ ψηφίσματα γράφοντας), πρῶτον  
 μὲν ὅπως μὴ περιμεῖνῃτε τοὺς πρέσβεις οὓς ἦτε  
 ἐκπεπομφότες παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ Φίλιππον, ἵνα

μὴ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἄλλ' ἰδίᾳ ποιήσησθε 63  
 65 τὴν εἰρήνην· δεύτερον δ' ὅπως μὴ μόνον τὴν εἰρήνην  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ συμμαχίαν εἶναι ψηφιεῖσθε πρὸς Φίλιπ-  
 πον, ἵν' εἴ τινες προσέχοιεν τῷ πλήθει τῷ ὑμετέρῳ,  
 εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην ἐμπέσοιεν ἀθυμίαν ὁρῶντες ὑμᾶς  
 αὐτοὺς μὲν παρακαλοῦντας ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, οἵκοι  
 δὲ μὴ μόνον εἰρήνην ἀλλὰ καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐψη-  
 φισμένους ποιεῖσθαι· τρίτον δὲ ὅπως Κερσοβλέπτης  
 ὁ Θράκης βασιλεὺς μὴ ἔσται ἔνορκος, μηδὲ μετέ-  
 σται τῆς συμμαχίας καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης αὐτῷ. παρηγ-  
 66 γέλλετο δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤδη στρατεία. καὶ ταῦθ' ὁ  
 μὲν ἐξωνούμενος οὐκ ἠδίκηι (πρὸ γὰρ τῶν ὅρκων καὶ  
 τῶν συνθηκῶν ἀνεμέσητον ἦν αὐτῷ πράττειν τὰ  
 συμφέροντα), οἱ δ' ἀποδόμενοι καὶ κατακοινωνή-  
 σαντες τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἰσχυρὰ μεγάλης ὀργῆς ἦσαν  
 ἄξιοι. ὁ γὰρ μισαλέξανδρος νυνὶ φάσκων εἶναι καὶ  
 τότε μισοφίλιππος Δημοσθένης, ὁ τὴν ξενίαν ἐμοὶ  
 προφέρων τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, γράφει ψήφισμα, τοὺς  
 67 καιροὺς τῆς πόλεως ὑφαιρούμενος, ἐκκλησίαν ποιεῖν  
 τοὺς πρυτάνεις τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἰσταμένου τοῦ ἐλαφη-  
 βολιῶνος μηνός, ὅτ' ἦν τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ἡ θυσία καὶ  
 ὁ προάγων, ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ ἡμέρᾳ, ὁ πρότερον οὐδεὶς  
 μέμνηται γενόμενον, τίνα πρόφασιν ποιησάμενος;  
 ἵνα, φησὶν, εἰν ἤδη παρῶσιν οἱ τοῦ Φιλίππου πρέσ-  
 βεις, βουλευσῇται ὁ δῆμος ὥς τάχιστα περὶ τῶν  
 πρὸς Φίλιππον, τοῖς οὐπω παροῦσι πρέσβεσι προ-  
 καταλαμβάνων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τοὺς χρόνους  
 ὑμῶν ὑποτεμνόμενος καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα κατασπεύδων,  
 ἵνα μὴ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐπανελθόντων  
 τῶν ὑμετέρων πρέσβεων ἀλλὰ μόνοι ποιήσησθε τὴν

εἰρήνην. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἤκου οἱ τοῦ 68  
 Φιλίππου πρέσβεις· οἱ δὲ ὑμέτεροι ἀπεδήμουν  
 παρακαλοῦντες τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ Φίλιππον. ἐν-  
 ταῦθ' ἕτερον ψήφισμα νικᾷ Δημοσθένης, ἐν ᾧ γρά-  
 φει μὴ μόνον ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀλλὰ καὶ συμμαχίας  
 ὑμᾶς βουλευσασθαι, μὴ περιμεῖναντας τοὺς πρέσ-  
 βεις τοὺς ὑμετέρους ἀλλ' εὐθὺς μετὰ τὰ Διουύσια  
 τὰ ἐν ἄστει, τῇ ὀγδόῃ καὶ ἐνάτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα. "Οτι δ'  
 ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀκούσατε τῶν ψηφισμάτων.

### ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν, ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι, παρεληλύθει τὰ 69  
 Διουύσια, ἐγίγνοντο δὲ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι, ἐν δὲ τῇ προ-  
 τέρᾳ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀνεγνώσθη δόγμα κοινὸν τῶν  
 συμμάχων,—οὗ τὰ κεφάλαια διὰ βραχέων ἐγὼ  
 προερῶ. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔγραψαν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης  
 ὑμᾶς μόνον βουλευσασθαι, τὸ δὲ τῆς συμμαχίας  
 ὄνομα ὑπερέβησαν, οὐκ ἐπιλελησμένοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 τὴν εἰρήνην ἀναγκαιοτέραν ἢ καλλίω ὑπολαμβάνον-  
 τες εἶναι· ἔπειτα ἀπήντησαν ὀρθῶς ἰασόμενοι τὸ  
 Δημοσθένους δωροδόκημα, καὶ προσέγραψαν ἐν τῷ 70  
 δόγματι ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν  
 τρισὶ μηνσὶν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν στήλην ἀναγεγράφθαι  
 μετ' Ἀθηναίων καὶ μετέχειν τῶν ὅρκων καὶ τῶν  
 συνθηκῶν, δύο μέγιστα προκαταλαμβάνοντες, πρῶ-  
 του μὲν τὸν χρόνον τὸν τῆς τριμήνου ταῖς τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων πρεσβεΐαις ἱκανὸν γενέσθαι παρασκευά-  
 ζοντες, ἔπειτα τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐνοίαν τῇ πόλει  
 μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου κτώμενοι, ἵν' εἰ παραβαί-  
 νουντο αἱ συνθήκαι, μὴ μόνοι μηδ' ἀπαράσκευοι



πολεμήσαιμεν, ἃ νῦν ἡμῖν παθεῖν συνέβη διὰ Δημοσθένην· Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ δόγματος ἀκούσαντες μαθήσεσθε.

### ΔΟΓΜΑ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΩΝ.

- 71 Τούτῳ τῷ δόγματι συνειπεῖν ὁμολογῶ, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν δημηγοροῦντες· καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀπῆλθε τοιαύτην τινὰ δόξαν εἰληφώς, ὥς ἔσται μὲν ἡ εἰρήνη, περὶ δὲ συμμαχίας οὐκ ἄμεινον εἶη διὰ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων παράκλησιν βουλευσασθαι, ἔσται δὲ κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων. νῦξ ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ παρήμην τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ προκαταλαβὼν Δημοσθένης τὸ βῆμα, οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων παραλιπὼν λόγον, οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἔφη τῶν χθὲς εἰρημένων εἶναι 64 λόγων, εἰ ταῦθ' οἱ Φιλίππου μὴ συμπεισθήσονται πρέσβεις, οὐδὲ γιγνώσκειν ἔφη τὴν εἰρήνην ἀπούσης
- 72 συμμαχίας. οὐ γὰρ ἔφη δεῖν (καὶ γὰρ τὸ ῥῆμα μέμνημαι ὥς εἶπε, διὰ τὴν ἀηδίαν τοῦ λέγοντος ἅμα καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος) ἀπορρηῆσαι τῆς εἰρήνης τὴν συμμαχίαν, οὐδὲ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀναμένειν μελλήματα, ἀλλ' ἢ πολεμεῖν αὐτοὺς ἢ τὴν εἰρήνην ἰδίᾳ ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ τελευτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα παρακαλεσας Ἀντίπατρον ἐρωτήματ' ἠρώτα, προειπὼν μὲν ἃ ἐρήσεται, προδιδάξας δὲ ἃ χρὴ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀποκρίνασθαι. καὶ τέλος ταῦτ' ἐνίκα, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ προσβιασμένου Δημοσθένους, τὸ δὲ ψή-
- 73 φισμα γράψαντος Φιλοκράτους. ὃ δὲ ἦν ὑπόλοιπον αὐτοῖς, Κερσοβλέπτην καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Θράκης τόπον ἐκδοτον ποιῆσαι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔπραξαν ἕκτη



φθίνοντος τοῦ ἐλαφηβολιῶνος, πρὶν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑστέραν ἀπαίρειν πρεσβείαν τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους Δημοσθένην· ὁ γὰρ μισαλέξανδρος καὶ μισοφίλιππος ὑμῖν οὐτοσὶ ρήτωρ δις ἐπρέσβευσεν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, ἐξὸν μηδὲ ἵπαξ, ὁ νυνὶ κελεύων τῶν Μακεδόνων καταπτύειν. εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τὴν τῇ ἕκτῃ λέγω, καθεζόμενος βουλευτῆς ὢν ἐκ παρασκευῆς, ἔκδοτον Κερσοβλέπτην μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἐποίησε. λαν- 74  
θάνει γὰρ ὁ μὲν Φιλοκράτης ἐν ψηφίσματι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων γραμμάτων παρεγγράψας, ὁ δ' ἐπιψηφίσας, Δημοσθένης, [ἐν ᾧ γέγραπται] “ἀποδοῦναι δὲ τοὺς ὅρκους τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς παρὰ Φιλίππου ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς συνέδρους τῶν συμμάχων.” παρὰ δὲ Κερσοβλέπτου σύνηςδρος οὐκ ἐκάθητο· γράψας δὲ τοὺς συνεδρεύοντας ὁμνύει τὸν Κερσοβλέπτην οὐ συνεδρεύοντα ἐξέκλεισε τῶν ὅρκων. “Οτι δ' ἀληθῇ λέγω, ἀνάγνωθί μοι τίς ἦν ὁ ταῦτα 75  
γράφας καὶ τίς ὁ ταῦτα ἐπιψηφίσας πρόεδρος.

### ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟΣ.

Καλόν, ᾧ Ἀθηναῖοι, καλὸν ἢ τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων φυλακὴ· ἀκίνητον γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ συμμεταπίπτει τοῖς αὐτομολοῦσιν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, ἀλλ' ἀπέδωκε τῷ δήμῳ, ὅπόταν βούληται, συνιδεῖν τοὺς πάλαι μὲν πονηροὺς ἐκ μεταβολῆς δ' ἀξιούοντας εἶναι χρηστούς.

Ἐπόλοιπον δὲ μοί ἐστι τὴν κολακείαν αὐτοῦ 76 διεξελεῖν. Δημοσθένης γὰρ ἐνιαυτὸν βουλευσας οὐδεμίαν πώποτε φανεῖται πρεσβείαν εἰς προεδρίαν καλέσας, ἀλλὰ τότε μόνον καὶ πρῶτον πρέσβεις εἰς

προεδρίαν ἐκάλεσε καὶ προσκεφάλαια ἔθηκε καὶ φοινικίδας περιεπέτασε καὶ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἡγεῖτο τοῖς πρέσβεσιν εἰς τὸ θέατρον, ὥστε καὶ συρίττεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην καὶ κολακείαν· καὶ ὅτ' ἀπήεσαν, ἐμισθώσατο αὐτοῖς τρία ζεύγη ὀρικά καὶ προὔπεμφεν εἰς Θήβας, καταγέλαστον τὴν πόλιν ποιῶν. Ἴνα δ' ἐπὶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως μείνω, λαβέ μοι τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ περὶ τῆς προεδρίας.

### ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

- 77 Οὗτος τοίνυν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁ τηλικούτος τὸ μέγεθος κόλαξ πρῶτος διὰ τῶν κατασκέπων τῶν παρὰ Χαριδήμου πυθόμενος τὴν Φιλίππου τελευτὴν τῶν μὲν θεῶν συμπλάσας ἑαυτῷ ἐνύπνιον κατεψεύσατο, ὥς οὐ παρὰ Χαριδήμου τὸ πρᾶγμα πεπυσμένος ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, οὐς μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιορκῶν νύκτωρ φησὶν ἑαυτῷ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι προλέγειν, ἐβδόμην δ' ἡμέραν τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῷ τετελευτηκυίας, πρὶν πενθῆσαι καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιῆσαι, στεφανωσάμενος καὶ λευκὴν ἐσθῆτα λαβὼν ἐβουθύτει καὶ
- 78 παρενύμει, τὴν μόνην ὁ δείλαιος καὶ πρώτην αὐτὸν πατέρα προσειποῦσαν ἀπολέσας. καὶ οὐ τὸ δυστύχημα ὀνειδίζω, ἀλλὰ τὸν τρόπον ἐξετάζω. ὁ γὰρ μισότεκνος καὶ πατὴρ πονηρὸς οὐκ ἂν ποτε γένοιτο δημαγωγὸς χρηστός, οὐδὲ ὁ τὰ φίλτατα καὶ οἰκειότατα σώματα μὴ στέργων οὐδέποθ' ὑμᾶς περὶ πλείονος ποιήσεται τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους, οὐδέ γε ὁ ἰδίᾳ πονηρὸς οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο δημοσίᾳ χρηστός, οὐδ' ὅστις ἐστὶν οἴκοι φαῦλος, οὐδέποτ' ἦν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ κατὰ 65

τὴν πρεσβείαν καλὸς καὶ γαθός· οὐ γὰρ τὸν τρόπον ἀλλὰ τὸν τόπον μόνον μετήλλαξεν.

Πόθεν οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν ἦλθε τῶν πραγ- 79  
μάτων (οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ δεύτερος καιρός), καὶ τί  
ποτ' ἐστὶ τὸ αἴτιον ὅτι Φιλοκράτης μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν  
αὐτῶν πολιτευμάτων Δημοσθένην φυγὰς ἀπ' εἰσαγ-  
γελίας γεγένηται, Δημοσθένης δὲ ἐπέστη τῶν ἄλλων  
κατήγορος, καὶ πόθεν ποθ' ἡμᾶς εἰς τὰς ἀτυχίας  
ὁ μιὰρὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐμβέβληκε, ταῦτ' ἤδη διαφερόν-  
τως ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἀκοῦσαι. ὥς γὰρ τάχιστα εἴσω 80  
Πυλῶν Φίλιππος παρήλθε καὶ τὰς τε ἐν Φωκεῦσι  
πόλεις παραδόξως ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε, Θηβαίους  
δέ, ὥς τόθ' ὑμῖν ἐδόκει, περαιτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ  
τοῦ ὑμετέρου συμφέροντος ἰσχυροῦς κατεσκεύασεν,  
ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν φοβηθέντες ἐσκευαγωγήσατε,  
ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις δ' ἦσαν αἰτίαις οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ  
περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης πρεσβεύσαντες, πολὺ δὲ τῶν  
ἄλλων διαφερόντως Φιλοκράτης καὶ Δημοσθένης  
διὰ τὸ μὴ μόνον πρεσβεύειν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ψηφί-  
σματα γεγραφέναι, συνέβη δ' ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρόνοις 81  
διαφέρεσθαί τι τὸν Δημοσθένην καὶ Φιλοκράτην  
σχεδὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὺς  
ὑπωπτεύσατε διενεχθῆναι,—τοιαύτης δὲ ἐμπιπτού-  
σης ταραχῆς μετὰ τῶν συμφύτων νοσημάτων αὐτῷ  
ἤδη τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐβουλευέτο, μετὰ δειλίας καὶ  
τῆς πρὸς Φιλοκράτην ὑπὲρ τῆς δωροδοκίας ζηλο-  
τυπίας, καὶ ἡγήσατο, εἰ τῶν συμπρεσβευόντων καὶ  
τοῦ Φιλίππου κατήγορος ἀναφανείη, τὸν μὲν Φι-  
λοκράτην προδῆλως ἀπολείσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους  
συμπρέσβεις κινδυνεύσειν, αὐτὸς δ' εὐδοκμήσειν



- καὶ προδότης ὧν τῶν φίλων καὶ πονηρὸς πιστὸς  
 82 τῷ δήμῳ φανήσεσθαι. κατιδόντες δ' αὐτὸν οἱ τῇ  
 τῆς πόλεως προσπολεμοῦντες ἡσυχίᾳ ἄσμενοι παρε-  
 κάλουν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, τὸν μόνον ἀδωροδόκητον ὀνομά-  
 ζοντες τῇ πόλει· ὁ δὲ παριῶν ἀρχὰς αὐτοῖς ἐνεδίδου  
 πολέμου καὶ ταραχῆς. οὗτός ἐστιν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁ  
 πρῶτος ἐξευρὼν Σέρριον τεῖχος καὶ Δορίσκον καὶ  
 Ἐργίσκην καὶ Μυρτίσκην καὶ Γάνος καὶ Γανίδα,  
 χωρία ὧν οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα ἤδειμεν πρότερον. καὶ  
 εἰς τοῦτο φέρων περιέστησε τὰ πράγματα, ὥστ' εἰ  
 μὲν μὴ πέμπτοι Φίλιππος πρέσβεις, καταφρονεῖν  
 αὐτὸν ἔφη τῆς πόλεως, εἰ δὲ πέμπτοι, κατασκόπους  
 83 πέμπειν ἀλλ' οὐ πρέσβεις. εἰ δὲ ἐπιτρέπειν ἐθέλοι  
 πόλει τινὲ ἴση καὶ ὁμοίᾳ περὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, οὐκ  
 εἶναι κριτὴν ἴσον ἡμῖν ἔφη καὶ Φιλίππῳ. Ἀλόννη-  
 σον ἐδίδου· ὁ δ' ἀπηγόρευε μὴ λαμβάνειν, εἰ δίδωσιν  
 ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀποδίδωσι, περὶ συλλαβῶν διαφερόμενος.  
 καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον στεφανώσας τοὺς μετὰ Ἀριστοδή-  
 μῳ εἰς Θετταλίαν καὶ Μαγνησίαν παρὰ τὰς τῆς  
 εἰρήνης συνθήκας ἐπιστρατεύσαντας τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην  
 διέλυσε, τὴν δὲ συμφορὰν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον παρε-  
 σκεύασεν.
- 84 Ναί, ἀλλὰ χαλκοῖς καὶ ἀδαμαντίνοις τείχεσιν,  
 ὥς αὐτὸς φησι, τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν ἐτείχισε, τῇ  
 τῶν Εὐβοέων καὶ Θηβαίων συμμαχίᾳ. ἀλλ',  
 ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ ταῦτα τρία μέγιστα ἠδίκησθε  
 καὶ μάλιστα ἡγνοήκατε. σπεύδων δ' εἰπεῖν περὶ  
 τῆς μεγίστης συμμαχίας τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων, ἵν'  
 ἐφεξῆς εἴπω, περὶ τῶν Εὐβοέων πρῶτον μνησθή-  
 σομαι.



Ὑμεῖς γάρ, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἡδίκη- 85  
 μένοι ὑπὸ Μνησάρχου τοῦ Χαλκιδέως, τοῦ Καλλίου  
 καὶ Ταυροσθένους πατρός, οὓς οὗτος νυνὶ μισθὸν  
 λαβὼν Ἀθηναίους εἶναι τολμᾷ γράφειν, καὶ πάλιν  
 ὑπὸ Θεμίσωνος τοῦ Ἑρετριέως, ὃς ἡμῶν εἰρήνης  
 οὔσης Ὠρωπὸν ἀφείλετο, τούτων ἐκόντες ἐπιλαθέ-  
 μενοι, ἐπειδὴ διέβησαν εἰς Εὐβοίαν Θηβαῖοι κατα-  
 δουλώσασθαι τὰς πόλεις πειρώμενοι, ἐν πέντε ἡμέ-  
 ραις ἐβοηθήσατε αὐτοῖς καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῇ δυνάμει,  
 καὶ πρὶν τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας διελθεῖν ὑποσπόνδους  
 Θηβαίους ἀφήκατε, κύριοι τῆς Εὐβοίας γενόμενοι,  
 καὶ τὰς τε πόλεις αὐτὰς καὶ τὰς πολιτείας ἀπέδοτε  
 86 ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως τοῖς παρακαταθεμένοις, οὐχ ἡγού-  
 μενοι δίκαιον εἶναι τὴν ὀργὴν ἀπομνημονεύειν ἐν  
 τῷ πιστευθῆναι. καὶ τηλικαῖθ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν εὖ πεπον- 86  
 θότες οἱ Χαλκιδεῖς οὐ τὰς ὁμοίας ὑμῖν ἀπέδοσαν  
 χάριτας, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα διέβητε εἰς Εὐβοίαν  
 Πλουτάρχῳ βοηθήσαντες, τοὺς μὲν πρώτους χρόνους  
 ἀλλ' οὖν προσεποιοῦνθ' ὑμῖν εἶναι φίλοι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ  
 τάχιστα εἰς Ταμύνας παρήλθομεν καὶ τὸ Κοτύλαιον  
 ὀνομαζόμενον ὄρος ὑπερεβάλλομεν, ἐνταῦθα Καλλίας  
 ὁ Χαλκιδεύς, ὃν Δημοσθένης μισθὸν λαβὼν ἐνεκω-  
 μίαζεν, ὁρῶν τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῆς πόλεως εἰς τινὰς 87  
 δυσχωρίας κατακεκλειμένον, ὅθεν μὴ νικήσασι μάχην  
 οὐκ ἦν ἀναχώρησις οὐδὲ βοηθείας ἐλπίς οὔτ' ἐκ γῆς  
 οὔτ' ἐκ θαλάττης, συναγείρας ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Εὐ-  
 βοίας στρατόπεδον καὶ παρὰ Φιλίππου δύναμιν  
 προσμεταπεμφάμενος, ὃ τ' ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ταυρο-  
 σθένης, ὁ νυνὶ πάντας δεξιούμενος καὶ προσγελῶν,  
 τοὺς Φωκικοὺς ξένους διαβιβάσας, ἦλθον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς

- 88 ὥς ἀναιρήσונτες. καὶ εἰ μὴ πρῶτον μὲν θεῶν τις ἔσωσε τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἔπειθ' οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ ὑμέτεροι καὶ πεζοὶ καὶ ἵππεῖς ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐγένοντο καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἵππόδρομον τὸν ἐν Τάμύναις ἐκ παρατάξεως μάχῃ κρατήσαντες ἀφείσαν ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐκινδύνευσεν ἂν ἡ πόλις αἰσχιστα παθεῖν· οὐ γὰρ τὸ δυστυχήσαι κατὰ πόλεμον μέγιστόν ἐστι κακόν, ἀλλ' ὅταν τις πρὸς ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἀναξίους αὐτοῦ διακινδυνεύων ἀποτύχῃ, διπλασίαν εἰκὸς εἶναι τὴν συμφοράν. ἀλλ' ὅμως ὑμεῖς τοιαῦτα
- 89 πεπονθότες πάλιν διελύσασθε πρὸς αὐτούς. τυχὼν δὲ παρ' ὑμῶν συγγνώμης Καλλίας ὁ Χαλκιδεὶς μικρὸν διαλιπὼν χρόνον πάλιν ἦκε φερόμενος εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν, Εὐβοϊκὸν μὲν τῷ λόγῳ συνέδριον εἰς Χαλκίδα συνάγων, ἰσχυρὰν δὲ τὴν Εὐβοίαν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἔργῳ παρασκευάζων, ἐξαίρετον δ' αὐτῷ τυραννίδα περιποιούμενος. καὶ ταύτης ἐλπίζων συναγωνιστὴν Φίλιππον λήψεσθαι ἀπηλθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ περιήει μετὰ Φιλίππου, καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων εἰς
- 90 ὠνομάζετο. ἀδικήσας δὲ Φίλιππον κάκεῖθεν ἀποδρὰς ὑπέβαλλεν ἑαυτὸν φέρων Θηβαίοις. ἐγκαταλιπὼν δὲ κάκείνους, καὶ πλείους τραπόμενος τροπὰς τοῦ Εὐρίπου, παρ' ὃν ᾧκει, εἰς μέσον πίπτει τῆς τε Θηβαίων ἔχθρας καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου. ἀπορῶν δ' ὅτι χρήσαιτο αὐτῷ, καὶ παραγγελλομένης ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤδη στρατείας, μίαν ἐλπίδα λειπὴν κατεῖδε σωτηρίας ἔννορκον λαβεῖν τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον, σύμμαχον ὀνομασθέντα βοηθήσειν, εἴ τις ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἴοι· ὁ πρό-
- 91 δηλον ἦν ἐσόμενον, εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς κωλύσαίτε. ταῦτα δὲ διανοηθεὶς ἀποστέλλει δεῦρο πρέσβεις Γλαυκέτην

καὶ Ἐμπέδωνα καὶ Διόδωρον τὸν δολιχοδρομήσαντα, φέροντας τῷ μὲν δήμῳ ἐλπίδας κενάς, Δημοσθένει δ' ἀργύριον καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν. τρία δ' ἦν ἂ ἅμα ἐξωνεῖτο, πρῶτον μὲν μὴ διασφαλῆναι τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς συμμαχίας· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν τὸ μέσον, εἰ μνησθεὶς τῶν προτέρων ἀδικημάτων ὁ δῆμος μὴ προσδέξαιτο τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἀλλ' ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῷ ἢ φεύγειν ἐκ Χαλκίδος ἢ τεθνάναι ἐγκαταληφθέντι· τηλικαῦται δυνάμεις ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπεστράτευον, ἥ τε Φιλίππου καὶ ἡ Θηβαίων. δεύτερον δ' ἦκου οἱ μισθοὶ τῷ γράψαντι τὴν συμμαχίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ συνεδρεῦειν Ἀθήνησι Χαλκιδέας, τρίτον δὲ ὥστε μὴ τελεῖν συντάξεις. καὶ 92 τούτων τῶν προαιρέσεων οὐδεμιᾶς ἀπέτυχε Καλλίας, ἀλλ' ὁ μισοτύραννος Δημοσθένης, ὡς αὐτὸς προσποιεῖται, ὅν φησι Κτησιφῶν τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν, ἀπέδοτο μὲν τοὺς καιροὺς τοὺς τῆς πόλεως, ἔγραψε δ' ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ βοηθεῖν ἡμᾶς Χαλκιδεῦσι, ῥῆμα μόνον ἀντικαταλλαζάμενος ἀντὶ τούτων, εὐφημίας ἕνεκα προσγράψας Χαλκιδέας βοηθεῖν "εἰάν τις 67 ἦν ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους." τὰς δὲ συνεδρίας καὶ τὰς συν- 93 τάξεις, ἐξ ὧν ἰσχύσειν ὁ πόλεμος ἡμέλλεν, ἄρδην ἀπέδοτο, καλλίστοις ὀνόμασιν αἰσχιστὰς πράξεις γράφων καὶ τῷ λόγῳ προσβιβάζων ὑμᾶς, τὰς μὲν βοηθείας ὡς δεῖ τὴν πόλιν πρότερον ποιεῖσθαι τοῖς αἰεὶ δεομένοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὰς δὲ συμμαχίας ὑστέρας ποιεῖσθαι μετὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας. "Ἰνα δ' εὖ εἰδῇτε ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, λαβέ μοι τὴν Καλλίου γραφὴν καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν, καὶ ἀνάγνωθι τὸ ψήφισμα.



## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

- 94 Οὐπω τοίνυν τοῦτ' ἐστὶ δεινόν, εἰ καιροὶ πέπραν-  
 ται τηλικούτοι καὶ συνεδρίαὶ καὶ συντάξεις, ἀλλὰ  
 πολὺ τούτου δεινότερον ὑμῖν φανήσεται ὃ μέλλω  
 λέγειν. εἰς γὰρ τοῦτο προήχθη Καλλίας μὲν ὃ Χαλ-  
 κιδεὺς ὕβρεως καὶ πλεονεξίας, Δημοσθένης δέ, ὃν  
 ἐπαινεῖ Κτησιφῶν, δωροδοκίας, ὥστε τὰς ἐξ Ὀρεοῦ  
 συντάξεις καὶ τὰς ἐξ Ἐρετρίας, τὰ δέκα τάλαντα,  
 ὁρῶντων φρονούντων βλεπόντων ἔλαθον ὑμῶν ὑφε-  
 λόμενοι, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τούτων συνέδρους  
 παρ' ὑμῶν μὲν ἀνέστησαν, πάλιν δὲ εἰς Χαλκίδα καὶ  
 τὸ καλούμενον Εὐβοϊκὸν συνέδριον συνήγαγον. ὃν  
 δὲ τρόπον καὶ δι' οἷων κακουργημάτων, ταῦτ' ἤδη  
 95 ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἀκοῦσαι. ἀφικνεῖται γὰρ πρὸς ὑμᾶς  
 οὐκέτι δι' ἀγγέλων ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ Καλλίας, καὶ παρ-  
 ελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν λόγους διεξῆλθε κατεσκευα-  
 σμένους ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους. εἶπε γὰρ ὡς ἦκοι ἐκ  
 Πελοποννήσου νεωστὶ σύνταγμα συντάξας εἰς ἑκατὸν  
 τάλαντων πρόσοδον ἐπὶ Φίλιππον, καὶ διελογίζετο  
 ὅσον ἐκάστους ἔδει συντελεῖν, Ἀχαιοὺς μὲν πάντας  
 καὶ Μεγαρέας ἐξήκοντα τάλαντα, τὰς δ' ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ  
 96 πόλεις ἀπάσας τετταράκοντα. ἐκ δὲ τούτων τῶν  
 χρημάτων ὑπάρξειν καὶ ναυτικὴν καὶ πεζὴν δύνα-  
 μιν· εἶναι δὲ πολλοὺς ἄλλους τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὓς βού-  
 λεσθαι κοινωνεῖν τῆς συντάξεως, ὥστε οὔτε χρημά-  
 των οὔτε στρατιωτῶν ἔσεσθαι ἀπορίαν. καὶ ταῦτα  
 μὲν τὰ φανερά· ἔφη δὲ καὶ πράξεις πρᾶττειν ἐτέρας  
 δι' ἀπορρήτων, καὶ τούτων εἶναί τινας μάρτυρας τῶν



ἡμετέρων πολιτῶν, καὶ τελευτῶν ὀνομαστὶ παρεκά-  
 λει Δημοσθένην καὶ συνειπεῖν ἡξίου. ὁ δὲ σεμνῶς 97  
 πάνυ παρελθὼν τὸν τε Καλλίαν ὑπερεπήνει τό τε  
 ἀπόρρητον προσεποιήσατο εἶδέναι τὴν δ' ἐκ Πελο-  
 ποννήσου πρεσβείαν, ἣν ἐπρέσβευσε, καὶ τὴν ἐξ  
 Ἀκαρνανίας ἔφη βούλεσθαι ὑμῖν ἀπαγγεῖλαι, ἣν δ'  
 αὐτῷ κεφάλαιον τῶν λόγων πάντας μὲν Πελοπον-  
 νησίους ὑπάρχειν, πάντας δ' Ἀκαρνᾶνας συντεταγ-  
 μένους ἐπὶ Φίλιππον ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ, εἶναι δὲ τὸ σύν-  
 ταγμα χρημάτων μὲν εἰς ἑκατὸν νεῶν ταχυναυτουσῶν  
 πληράματα καὶ εἰς πεζοὺς στρατιώτας μυρίους καὶ  
 ἵππεῖς χιλίους, ὑπάρξειν δὲ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τὰς 98  
 πολιτικὰς δυνάμεις, ἐκ Πελοποννήσου μὲν πλέον  
 ἢ δισχιλίους ὀπλίτας, ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας δὲ ἑτέρους  
 τοσούτους· δεδῶσθαι δὲ ἀπὸ πάντων τούτων τὴν  
 ἡγεμονίαν ὑμῖν· πραχθήσεσθαι δὲ αὐτὰ οὐκ εἰς μα-  
 κρὰν ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἕκτην ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ ἀνθεστηριῶνος  
 μηνός· εἰρήσθαι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ  
 παρηγγέλθαι πάντας ἡκεῖν συνεδρεύοντας Ἀθήναζε  
 εἰς τὴν πανσέληνον. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἄνθρωπος ἴδιον 99  
 καὶ οὐ κοινὸν ποιεῖ. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι ἀλαζύνες  
 ὅταν τι ψεύδονται, ἀόριστα καὶ ἀσαφῆ πειρῶνται  
 λέγειν, φοβούμενοι τὴν ἔλεγχον· Δημοσθένης δ' ὅταν  
 ἀλαζονεύηται, πρῶτον μὲν μεθ' ὕρκου ψεύδεται ἐξώ-  
 λειαν ἐπαρώμενος ἑαυτῷ, δεύτερον δέ, ἃ εἰ οἶδεν  
 οὐδέποτε ἐσόμενα, τολμᾷ λέγειν ἀριθμῶν εἰς ὅπότ'  
 ἔσται, καὶ ὧν τὰ σώματα οὐχ ἑώρακε, τούτων τὰ  
 ὀνόματα λέγει, κλέπτων τὴν ἀκρέασιν καὶ μιμού-  
 μενος τοὺς τάληθῇ λέγοντας. διὸ καὶ μάλιστα ἄξιός  
 ἐστι μισεῖσθαι, ὅτι πονηρὸς ὧν καὶ τὰ τῶν χρηστῶν

- 100 σημεία διαφθείρει. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν δίδωσιν ἀνα-  
 γνῶναι ψήφισμα τῷ γραμματεῖ μακρότερον μὲν τῆς  
 Ἰλιάδος, κενώτερον δὲ τῶν λόγων οὓς εἶωθε λέγειν  
 καὶ τοῦ βίου ὃν βεβίωκε, μεστὸν δ' ἐλπίδων οὐκ  
 ἐσομένων καὶ στρατοπέδων οὐδέποτε συλλεγῆσο- 68  
 μένων· ἀπαγαγὼν δ' ὑμᾶς ἄποθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κλέμμα-  
 τος καὶ ἀνακρεμάσας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλπίδων, ἐνταῦθα δὴ  
 συστρέψας γράφει κελεύων ἐλέσθαι πρέσβεις εἰς  
 Ἑρέτριαν, οἵτινες δεήσονται τῶν Ἑρετριέων (πάνυ  
 γὰρ ἔδει δεηθῆναι) μηκέτι διδόναι τὴν σύνταξιν ὑμῖν  
 τὰ πέντε τάλαντα ἀλλὰ Καλλίᾳ, καὶ πάλιν ἐτέρους  
 αἰρεῖσθαι εἰς Ὀρεὸν [πρὸς τοὺς Ὀρεΐτας] πρέσβεις,  
 οἵτινες δεήσονται τὸν αὐτὸν Ἀθηναίοις φίλον καὶ  
 101 ἐχθρὸν νομίζειν. ἔπειτα ἀναφαίνεται πάλιν ἅπας  
 ὢν ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι πρὸς τῷ κλέμματι, γρά-  
 ψας τὰ πέντε τάλαντα τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀξιοῦν τοὺς  
 Ὀρεΐτας μὴ ὑμῖν ἀλλὰ Καλλίᾳ διδόναι. "Ὅτι δ'  
 ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀφελὼν τὸν κόμπον καὶ τὰς τριήρεις  
 καὶ τὴν ἀλαζονείαν ἀνάγνωθι καὶ τοῦ κλέμματος  
 ἄψαι, ὃ ὑφείλετο ὁ μιαρὸς καὶ ἀνόσιος ἄνθρωπος,  
 ὃν φησι Κτησιφῶν καὶ ἐν τῷδε τῷ ψηφίσματι δια-  
 τελεῖν λέγοντα καὶ πράττοντα τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ  
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

### ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

- 102 Οὐκοῦν τὰς μὲν τριήρεις καὶ τὴν πεζὴν στρατιὰν  
 καὶ τὴν πανσέληνον καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους λόγῳ ἡκού-  
 σατε, τὰς δὲ συντάξεις τῶν συμμάχων, τὰ δέκα τά-  
 λαντα, ἔργῳ ἀπωλέσατε.
- 103 Ἐπίλοιπον δέ μοί ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ὅτι λαβὼν τρία

τάλαντα μισθὸν τὴν γνώμην ταύτην ἔγραψε Δημο-  
 σθένης, τάλαντον μὲν ἐκ Χαλκίδος παρὰ Καλλίου,  
 τάλαντον δ' ἐξ Ἑρετρίας παρὰ Κλειτάρχου τοῦ  
 τυράννου, τάλαντον δὲ ἐξ Ὀρεοῦ, δι' ὃ καὶ καταφανὴς  
 ἐγένετο, δημοκρατουμένων τῶν Ὀρειτῶν καὶ πάντα  
 πραττόντων μετὰ ψηφίσματος. ἐξανηλωμένοι γὰρ  
 ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ παντελῶς ἀπόρως διακείμενοι  
 πέμπουσι πρὸς αὐτὸν Γνωσίδημον τὸν Χαριγένους  
 υἱὸν τοῦ δυναστεύσαντός ποτε ἐν Ὀρεῷ, δεησόμενον  
 αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν τάλαντον ἀφίεναι τῇ πόλει, ἐπαγγελ-  
 λόμενον δ' αὐτῷ χαλκὴν εἰκόνα σταθήσεσθαι ἐν  
 Ὀρεῷ· ὃ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο τῷ Γνωσιδῆμῳ ὅτι ἐλα- 104  
 χίστου χαλκοῦ οὐδὲν δέοιτο, τὸ δὲ τάλαντον διὰ τοῦ  
 Καλλίου εἰσπράττειν. ἀναγκαζόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ὀρεῖται  
 καὶ οὐκ εὐποροῦντες ὑπέθεσαν αὐτῷ τοῦ τάλαντου  
 τὰς δημοσίας προσόδους, καὶ τόκου ἤνεγκαν Δημο-  
 σθένει τοῦ δωροδοκήματος δραχμὴν τοῦ μηνὸς τῆς  
 μῆνης, ἕως τὸ κεφάλαιον ἀπέδωκαν. καὶ πάντ' ἐπρά-  
 χθη μετὰ ψηφίσματος τοῦ δήμου. Ὅτι δὲ ἀληθὴ 105  
 λέγω, λαβέ μοι τὸ ψήφισμα τῶν Ὀρειτῶν.

### ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ ψήφισμα, ᾧ Ἀθηναῖοι, αἰσχύνη  
 μὲν τῆς πόλεως, ἔλεγχος δὲ οὐ μικρὸς τῶν Δημοσθέ-  
 νους πολιτευμάτων, φανερά δὲ κατηγορία τοῦ Κτησι-  
 φῶντος· τὸν γὰρ οὕτως αἰσchrῶς δωροδοκοῦντα οὐκ  
 ἔστιν ἄνδρα γεγονέναι ἀγαθόν, ἃ τετόλμηκεν οὔτος  
 γράφαι ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι.

Ἐνταῦθ' ἤδη τέτακται καὶ ὁ τρίτος τῶν καιρῶν, 106  
 μᾶλλον δ' ὁ πάντων πικρότατος χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ Δημο-



σθένης ἀπώλεσε τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῆς πόλεως πράξεις ἀσεβήσας μὲν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, ἄδικον δὲ καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἴσην τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους συμμαχίαν γράψας. ἄρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτοῦ πλημμελημάτων λέγειν.

- 107 Ἔστι γάρ, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ Κιρραῖον ὠνομασμένον πεδίου καὶ λιμὴν ὃ νῦν ἐξάγιστος καὶ ἐπάρατος ὠνομασμένος. ταύτην ποτὲ τὴν χώραν κατώκησαν Κιρραῖοι καὶ Κραγαλίδαι, γένη παρανομώτατα, οἳ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα ἡσέβουν, ἐξημάρτανον δὲ καὶ εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύοντας. ἀγανακτήσαντες δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς γενομένοις μάλιστα μὲν, ὥς λέγεται, οἱ πρόγονοι οἱ ὑμέτεροι, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀμφικτύονες μαντεῖαν ἐμαντεύσαντο παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, τίνι χρὴ τιμωρίᾳ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τούτους μετελθεῖν.
- 108 καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀναιρεῖ ἡ Πυθία πολεμεῖν Κιρραίοις καὶ Κραγαλίδαις πάντ' ἡμάτα καὶ πάσας νύκτας, καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐκπορθήσαντας καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀνδραποδισαμένους ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Λητοῖ καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ Προ- 60 ναίᾳ ἐπὶ πάσῃ ἀεργίᾳ, καὶ ταύτην τὴν χώραν μὴτ' αὐτοὺς ἐργάζεσθαι μὴτ' ἄλλον εἶναι. λαβόντες δὲ τὸν χρησμὸν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες ἐψηφίσαντο Σέλωνος εἰπόντος Ἀθηναίου τὴν γνώμην, ἀνδρὸς καὶ νομοθετῆσαι δυνατοῦ καὶ περὶ ποίησιν καὶ φιλοσοφίαν διατετριφότος, ἐπιστρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναγεῖς κατὰ τὴν
- 109 μαντεῖαν τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ συναθροίσαντες δύναμιν ἱκανὴν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐξηνδραποδίσαντο τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὸν λιμένα ἔχωσαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν κατέσκαψαν καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καθιέρωσαν κατὰ



τὴν μαντείαν· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὅρκου ὤμοσαν ἰσχυρὸν  
 μήτ' αὐτοὶ τὴν ἱερὰν γῆν ἐργάσεσθαι μήτ' ἄλλω ἐπι-  
 τρέψειν, ἀλλὰ βοηθήσειν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ γῇ τῇ ἱερᾷ  
 καὶ χειρὶ καὶ ποδὶ καὶ φωνῇ καὶ πάσῃ δυνάμει. καὶ 110  
 οὐκ ἀπέχρησεν αὐτοῖς τοῦτον μόνον τὸν ὅρκου ὁμόςαι,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ προστροπὴν καὶ ἁρὰν ἰσχυρὰν ὑπὲρ τού-  
 των ἐποιήσαντο. γέγραπται γὰρ οὕτως ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ,  
 “εἴ τις τάδε” φησὶ “παραβαίνοι ἢ πύλις ἢ ἰδιώτης  
 ἢ ἔθνος, ἐναγὴς” φησὶν “ἔστω τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ  
 τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Λητοῦς καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Προναίας.”  
 καὶ ἐπεύχεται αὐτοῖς μήτε γῆν καρποὺς φέρειν, μήτε 111  
 γυναῖκας τέκνα τίκτειν γονεῦσιν ὅμοιότα ἀλλὰ τέρατα,  
 μηδὲ βοσκήματα κατὰ φύσιν γονὰς ποιεῖσθαι, ἥτταν  
 δὲ αὐτοῖς εἶναι πολέμου καὶ δικῶν καὶ ἀγορῶν, καὶ  
 ἐξώλεις εἶναι καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ οἰκίας καὶ γένος τὸ  
 ἐκείνων. “καὶ μήποτε” φησὶν “ὁσίως θύσαιεν τῷ  
 Ἀπόλλωνι μηδὲ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι μηδὲ τῇ Λητοῖ μηδ'  
 Ἀθηνᾷ Προναίᾳ, μηδὲ δέξαιντο αὐτοῖς τὰ ἱερά.”  
 “Ὅτι δ' ἀληθὴ λέγω, ἀνάγνωθι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ μαντείαν. 112  
 ἀκούσατε τῆς ἀρχῆς. ἀναμνήσθητε τῶν ὀρκων, οὓς  
 ὑμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι μετὰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων συνά-  
 μοσαν.

## MANTEIA.

[οὐ πρὶν τῇσδε πόλεως ἐρεῖψετε πύργον ἐλόντες,  
 πρὶν γε θεοῦ τεμένει κυανώπιδος Ἀμφιτρίτης  
 κύμα ποτικλύζῃ, κελαδοῦν ἱεραῖσιν ἐπ' ἅκταις.]

## ΑΡΑ. ΟΡΚΟΙ.

Ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῶν ὀρκων καὶ τῆς μαν- 113  
 τείας γενομένης, ἀναγεγραμμένων ἔτι καὶ νῦν, οἱ  
 Λοκροὶ οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ οἱ προεστηκότες

- αὐτῶν, ἄνδρες παρανομώτατοι, ἐπειργάζοντο τὸ πε-  
 δίον, καὶ τὸν λιμένα τὸν ἐξάγιστον καὶ ἐπάρατον  
 πάλιν ἐτείχισαν καὶ συνώκισαν, καὶ τέλη τοὺς κατα-  
 πλέοντας ἐξέλεγον, καὶ τῶν ἀφικνουμένων εἰς Δελ-  
 φούς πυλαγόρων ἐνίους χρήμασι διέφθειραν, ὧν εἷς  
 114 ἦν Δημοσθένης. χειροτονηθεὶς γὰρ ὑφ' ὑμῶν πυλα-  
 γόρας λαμβάνει δισχιλίας δραχμὰς παρὰ τῶν Ἀμ-  
 φισσέων ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδεμίαν μνείαν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς  
 Ἀμφικτύοσι ποιήσασθαι. διωμολογήθη δ' αὐτῷ καὶ  
 εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀποσταλήσεσθαι Ἀθήναζε  
 τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκάστου μνᾶς εἴκοσι τῶν ἐξαγίστων καὶ  
 ἐπαράτων χρημάτων, ἐφ' ᾧ τε βοηθήσειν τοῖς Ἀμφισ-  
 σεῦσιν Ἀθήνησι κατὰ πάντα τρόπον· ὅθεν μᾶλλον ἢ  
 πρότερον συμβέβηκεν αὐτῷ, ὅτου ἂν προσάφηται  
 ἄνδρες ἰδιώτου ἢ δυνάστου ἢ πόλεως δημοκρατουμέ-  
 νης, τούτων ἐκάστους ἀνιάτοις κακοῖς περιβάλλειν.  
 115 σκέψασθε δὴ τὸν δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην, ὡς περι-  
 εγένετο τῆς τῶν Ἀμφισσέων ἀσεβείας. ἐπὶ γὰρ Θεο-  
 φράστου ἄρχοντος, ἱερομνήμονος ὄντος Διογνήτου  
 Ἀναφλυστιίου, πυλαγόρους ὑμεῖς εἴλεσθε Μειδίαν τε  
 ἐκείνου τὸν Ἀναγυράσιον, ὃν ἐβουλόμην ἂν πολλῶν  
 ἔνεκα ζῆν, καὶ Θρασυκλέα τὸν Λέκκιον, καὶ τρίτον  
 δὴ μετὰ τούτων ἐμέ. συνέβη δ' ἡμῖν ἀρτίως μὲν εἰς  
 Δελφούς ἀφίχθαι, παραχρῆμα δὲ τὸν ἱερομνήμονα  
 Διογνήτην πυρέττειν· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο συνεπεπτώκει  
 καὶ τῷ Μειδίᾳ. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι συνεκάθηντο Ἀμφικτύο-  
 116 νες. ἐξηγγέλλετο δ' ἡμῖν παρὰ τῶν βουλομένων εὐ-  
 νοίαν ἐνδείκνυσθαι τῇ πόλει, ὅτι οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς ὑπο- 70  
 πεπτωκότες τότε καὶ δεινῶς θεραπεύοντες τοὺς Θη-  
 βαίους εἰσέφερον δόγμα κατὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως,

πεντήκοντα ταλάντοις ζημιῶσαι τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθη-  
 ναίων, ὅτι χρυσᾶς ἀσπίδας ἀνέθηκε πρὸς τὸν καινὸν  
 νεὼν πρὶν ἐξαράσασθαι, καὶ ἐπέγραψεν τὸ προσ-  
 ῆκον ἐπίγραμμα “ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Μήδων καὶ Θη-  
 βαίων ὅτε τάναντία τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐμάχοντο.” μετα-  
 πεμφάμενος δέ με ὁ ἱερομνήμων ἡξίου εἰσελθεῖν εἰς  
 τὸ συνέδριον καὶ εἰπεῖν τι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμφικτίοντας  
 ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ αὐτὸν οὕτω προηρημένον.  
 ἀρχομένου δέ μου λέγειν καὶ προθυμότερόν πως 117  
 εἰσεληλυθότος εἰς τὸ συνέδριον, τῶν ἄλλων πυλαγό-  
 ρων μεθεστηκότων, ἀναβοήσας τις τῶν Ἀμφισσέων,  
 ἄνθρωπος ἀσελγέστατος καὶ (ὥς ἐμοὶ ἐφαίνετο) οὐ-  
 δεμῖᾶς παιδείας μετεσχηκῶς, ἴσως δὲ καὶ δαιμονίου  
 τινὸς ἐξαμαρτάνειν αὐτὸν προαγομένου, “ ἀρχὴν δέ  
 γέ” ἔφη “ ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, εἰ ἐσωφρονεῖτε, οὐδ’  
 ἂν ὠνομάζετο τοῦνομα τοῦ δῆμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν  
 ταῖςδε ταῖς ἡμέραις, ἀλλ’ ὥς ἐναγεῖς ἐξείργετ’ ἂν ἐκ  
 τοῦ ἱεροῦ.” ἅμα δὲ ἐμέμνητο τῆς τῶν Φωκέων συμ- 118  
 μαχίας, ἣν ὁ Κρωβύλος ἐκεῖνος ἔγραψε, καὶ ἄλλα  
 πολλὰ καὶ δυσχερῆ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως διεξῆει λέγων,  
 ἃ ἐγὼ οὔτε τότε ἐκαρτέρουν ἀκούων οὔτε νῦν ἡδέως  
 μέμνημαι αὐτῶν. ἀκούσας δὲ οὔτω παρωξύνθην ὥς  
 οὐδεπώποτ’ ἐν τῷ ἐμαυτοῦ βίῳ. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλ-  
 λους λόγους ὑπερβήσομαι· ἐπῆλθε δέ μοι [ἐπὶ τὴν  
 γνώμην] μνησθῆναι τῆς τῶν Ἀμφισσέων περὶ τὴν  
 γῆν τὴν ἱερὰν ἀσεβείας, καὶ αὐτόθεν ἐστηκῶς ἐδείκ-  
 νουν τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσιν· ἰπόκειται γὰρ τὸ Κιρραῖον  
 πεδῖον τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ ἔστιν εὐσύνοπτον. “ ὁρᾷτ’,” ἔφην 119  
 ἐγώ, “ ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀμφικτύονες, ἐξειργασμένον τοῦτο  
 τὸ πεδῖον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων καὶ κεραμεῖα ἐνφ-



- κοδομημένα καὶ αὔλια· ὁρᾶτε τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸν  
ἐξάγιστον καὶ ἐπάρατον λιμένα τετειχισμένον· ἴστε  
τούτους αὐτοὶ (καὶ οὐδὲν ἑτέρων δεῖσθε μαρτύρων)  
τέλη πεπρακότας καὶ χρήματα λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ  
ἱεροῦ λιμένος.” ἅμα δὲ ἀναγιγνώσκειν ἐκέλευον αὐτοῖς  
τὴν μαντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸν ὅρκον τῶν προγόνων,  
120 τὴν ἄρὰν τὴν γενομένην, καὶ διωριζόμεν ὅτι “ἐγὼ  
μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ σώματος  
καὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ οἰκίας τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ βοηθῶ κατὰ  
τὸν ὅρκον καὶ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ γῇ τῇ ἱερᾷ καὶ χειρὶ  
καὶ ποδὶ καὶ φωνῇ καὶ πᾶσιν οἷς δύναμαι, καὶ τὴν  
πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀφοσιῶ·  
ὑμεῖς δ’ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἤδη βουλευέσθε. ἐνῆρκται  
μὲν τὰ κανᾶ, παρέστηκε δὲ τοῖς βωμοῖς τὰ θύματα,  
μέλλετε δ’ αἰτεῖν τοὺς θεοὺς τὰγαθὰ καὶ κοινῇ καὶ  
121 ἰδίᾳ. σκοπεῖτε δὲ ποία φωνῇ, ποία ψυχῇ, ποίοις  
ὕμμασι, τίνα τόλμαν κτησάμενοι τὰς ἱκεσίας ποιή-  
σεσθε, τούτους παρέντες ἀτιμωρήτους τοὺς ἐναγεῖς  
καὶ ταῖς ἀραῖς ἐνόχους. οὐ γὰρ δι’ αἰνιγμάτων ἀλλ’  
ἐναργῶς γέγραπται ἐν τῇ ἁρᾷ κατὰ τε τῶν ἀσεβη-  
σάντων, ἃ χρὴ παθεῖν αὐτοὺς, καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐπι-  
τρεψάντων, καὶ τελευταῖον [ἐν τῇ ἁρᾷ γέγραπται,]  
μηδ’ ὁσίως θύσαιεν οἱ μὴ τιμωροῦντες, φησί, τῷ  
Ἀπόλλωνι μηδὲ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι μηδὲ τῇ Λητοῖ μηδ’  
122 Ἀθηνᾷ Προναίᾳ, μηδὲ δέξαιντο αὐτοῖς τὰ ἱερά.”  
τοιαῦτα καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἕτερα πολλὰ διεξελλθόντος  
ἐμοῦ, ἐπειδὴ ποτε ἀπηλλάγην καὶ μετέστην ἐκ τοῦ  
συνεδρίου, κραυγὴ πολλὴ καὶ θόρυβος ἦν τῶν Ἀμ-  
φικτυόνων, καὶ λόγος ἦν οὐκέτι περὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων  
ἅς ἡμεῖς ἀνέθεμεν, ἀλλ’ ἤδη περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀμφισ-

σέων τιμωρίας. ἤδη δὲ πόρρω τῆς ἡμέρας [οὔσης]  
 προελθὼν ὁ κῆρυξ ἀνεῖπε, Δελφῶν ὅσοι ἐπὶ δίετες  
 ἡβῶσι, καὶ δούλους καὶ ἐλευθέρους, ἤκειν ἅμα τῇ  
 ἡμέρᾳ ἔχοντας ἅμα καὶ δικέλλας πρὸς τὸ Θυτείον  
 ἐκεῖ καλούμενον· καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς κῆρυξ ἀνηγόρευε  
 τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας καὶ πυλαγόρους ἤκειν εἰς τὸν  
 71 αὐτὸν τόπον βοηθήσοντας τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ γῇ τῇ ἱερᾷ·  
 “Ἦτις δ’ ἂν μὴ παρῇ πόλις, εἴρξεται τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ  
 ἐναγῆς ἔσται καὶ τῇ ἀρᾷ ἔνοχος.” τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία 123  
 ἤκομεν ἔωθεν εἰς τὸν προειρημένον τόπον, καὶ κατέ-  
 βημεν εἰς τὸ Κιρραῖον πεδῖον, καὶ τὸν λίμενα κατα-  
 σκάψαντες καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἐμπρήσαντες ἀνεχώρου-  
 μεν. ταῦτα δὲ ἡμῶν πραττόντων οἱ Λοκροὶ οἱ  
 Ἀμφισσεῖς, ἐξήκοντα στάδια ἀποθεν οἰκοῦντες Δελ-  
 φῶν, ἤκου πρὸς ἡμᾶς μεθ’ ὅπλων πανδημεῖ· καὶ εἰ  
 μὴ δρόμῳ μόλις ἐξεφύγομεν εἰς Δελφούς, ἐκινδυνεύ-  
 σαμεν ἂν ἀπολέσθαι. τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ Κότ- 124  
 τυφος ὁ τὰς γνώμας ἐπιψηφίζων ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίει  
 τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων· ἐκκλησίαν γὰρ ὀνομάζουσιν,  
 ὅταν μὴ μόνον τοὺς πυλαγόρους καὶ τοὺς ἱερομνή-  
 μονας συγκαλέσωσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς συνθύοντας καὶ  
 χρωμένους τῷ θεῷ. ἐνταῦθ’ ἤδη πολλαὶ μὲν ἐγίγ-  
 νοντο τῶν Ἀμφισσέων κατηγορίαι, πολλὺς δ’ ἔπαινος  
 ἦν κατὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως· τέλος δὲ παντὺς τοῦ  
 λόγου ψηφίζονται ἤκειν τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας πρὸ τῆς  
 ἐπιοίσης πυλαίας ἐν ῥητῷ χρόνῳ εἰς Πύλας, ἔχον-  
 τας δόγμα καθ’ ὃ τι δίκας δώσουσιν οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς  
 ὑπὲρ ὧν εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν ἱερὰν καὶ τοὺς  
 Ἀμφικτύονας ἐξήμαρτον. “Ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω,  
 ἀναγνίσκxεται ὑμῖν ὁ γραμματεὺς τὸ ψήφισμα.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

- 125 Τοῦ δόγματος τούτου ἀποδοθέντος ἰφ' ἡμῶν  
 ἐν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ τὰς  
 πράξεις ἡμῶν ἀποδεξαμένου τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς πό-  
 λως πάσης προαιρουμένης εὐσεβεῖν, καὶ Δημοσθέ-  
 νους ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεσεγγυήματος τοῦ ἐξ Ἀμφίσσης  
 ἀντιλέγοντος, καὶ ἐμοῦ φανερώς ἐναντίον ὑμῶν ἐξε-  
 λέγχοντος, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τὴν πόλιν ἄνθρω-  
 πος οὐκ ἠδύνατο σφῆλαι, εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ βουλευ-  
 τήριον καὶ μεταστησάμενος τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἐκφέρεται
- 126 προβούλευμα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, προσλαβὼν τὴν  
 τοῦ γράψαντος ἀπειρίαν. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ  
 ἐκκλησίᾳ διεπράξατο ἐπιψηφισθῆναι καὶ γενέσθαι  
 δήμου ψήφισμα ἥδη ἐπαναστάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας,  
 ἀπεληλυθότος ἐμοῦ (οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε ἐπέτρεψα) καὶ  
 τῶν πολλῶν δὲ ἀφειμένων· οὗ τὸ κεφάλαιόν ἐστι,  
 “τὸν ἱερομνήμονα” φησὶ “τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς  
 πυλαγόρους τοὺς αἰὲ πυλαγοροῦντας πορεύεσθαι εἰς  
 Πύλας καὶ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐν τοῖς τεταγμένοις χρόνοις  
 ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων,” εὐπρεπῶς γε τῷ ὀνόματι, ἀλλὰ  
 τῷ ἔργῳ αἰσχρῶς· κωλύει γὰρ εἰς τὸν σύλλογον τὸν  
 ἐν Πύλαις ἀπαντᾶν, ὃς ἐξ ἀνάγκης πρὸ τοῦ καθήκον-
- 127 τος ἔμελλε χρόνου γίνεσθαι. καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ  
 ψηφίσματι πολὺ καὶ σαφέστερον καὶ πικρότερον  
 πρόσταγμα γράφει, “τὸν ἱερομνήμονα” φησὶ “τῶν  
 Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς πυλαγόρους τοὺς αἰὲ πυλαγο-  
 ροῦντας μὴ μετέχειν τοῖς ἐκεῖ συλλεγομένοις μήτε  
 λόγων μήτε ἔργων μήτε δογμάτων μήτε πράξεως  
 μηδεμιᾶς.” τὸ δὲ μὴ μετέχειν τί ἐστι; πότερα τάλη-  
 θές εἶπω ἢ τὸ ἥδιστον ἀκοῦσαι; τὸ ἀληθές ἐρῶ· τὸ



γὰρ αἰὲς πρὸς ἡδονὴν λεγόμενον οὕτωςι τὴν πόλιν διατέθεικεν. οὐκ ἔα μεμνήσθαι τῶν ὀρκων, οὐς ἡμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι ᾤμοσαν, οὐδὲ τῆς ἀρᾶς οὐδὲ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ μαντείας.

Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν, ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι, κατεμείναμεν διὰ 128  
τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Ἀμφικτύονες συνε-  
λέγησαν εἰς Πύλας πλὴν μιᾶς πόλεως, ἥς ἐγὼ οὔτ'  
ἂν τοῦνομα εἴποιμι, μήθ' αἱ συμφοραὶ παραπλήσιοι  
γένοιντο αὐτῆς μηδενὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. καὶ συνελθόν-  
τες ἐψηφίσαντο ἐπιστρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας,  
καὶ στρατηγὸν εἵλουντο Κόττυφον τὸν Φαρσάλιον τὸν  
τότε τὰς γνώμας ἐπιψηφίζοντα, οὐκ ἐπιδημοῦντος ἐν  
Μακεδονίᾳ Φιλίππου, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι παρ-  
όντος, ἀλλ' ἐν Σκύθαις οὕτω μακρὰν ἀπόντος· ὃν  
αὐτίκα μάλα τολμήσει λέγειν Δημοσθένους ὥς ἐγὼ  
ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐπήγαγον. καὶ παρελθόντες τῇ 129  
πρώτῃ στρατείᾳ καὶ μάλα μετρίως ἐχρήσαντο τοῖς  
72 Ἀμφισσεῦσιν· ἀντὶ γὰρ τῶν μεγίστων ἀδικημάτων  
χρήμασιν αὐτοὺς ἐξημίωσαν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν ῥητῷ χρόνῳ  
προεῖπον τῷ θεῷ καταθεῖναι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐναγεῖς  
καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων αἰτίους μετεστήσαντο, τοὺς δὲ  
δι' εὐσέβειαν φυγόντας κατήγαγον· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὔτε  
τὰ χρήματα ἐξέτινον τῷ θεῷ τοὺς τ' ἐναγεῖς κατή-  
γαγον καὶ τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς κατελθόντας διὰ τῶν Ἀμφι-  
κτύωνων ἐξέβαλον, οὕτως ἤδη τὴν δευτέραν στρα-  
τείαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐποιήσαντο, πολλῷ χρόνῳ  
ὕστερον, ἐπανελλυθότος Φιλίππου ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς  
Σκύθας στρατείας, τῶν μὲν θεῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς  
εὐσεβείας ἡμῖν παραδεδωκότων, τῆς δὲ Δημοσθένους  
δωροδοκίας ἐμποδὼν γεγεννημένης.

- 130 Ἄλλ' οὐ προὔλεγον, οὐ προεσήμαινον ἡμῖν οἱ θεοὶ φυλάξασθαι, μόνον οὐκ ἀνθρώπων φωνὰς προσκτησάμενοι; οὐδεμίαν τοι πώποτε ἔγωγε μᾶλλον πόλιν ἐώρακα ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν θεῶν σῶζομένην, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ῥητόρων[ἐνίων] ἀπολλυμένην. οὐχ ἱκανὸν ἦν τὸ τοῖς μυστηρίοις φανέν σημεῖον φυλάξασθαι, ἢ τῶν μυστῶν τελευτή; οὐ περὶ τούτων Ἀμεινιάδης μὲν προὔλεγεν εὐλαβεῖσθαι καὶ πέμπειν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπερησομένους τὸν θεὸν ὅτι χρὴ πράττειν, Δημοσθένης δὲ ἀντέλεγε φιλιππίζειν τὴν Πυθίαν φάσκων, ἀπαίδευτος ὢν καὶ ἀπολαύων καὶ ἐμπιπλάμενος τῆς
- 131 διδομένης ὑφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῷ ἐξουσίας; οὐ τὸ τελευταῖον ἀθύτων καὶ ἀκαλλιερέτων τῶν ἱερῶν ὄντων ἐξέπεμψε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπὶ τὸν πρόδηλον κίνδυνον; καίτοι γε πρόην ἀπετόλμησε λέγειν ὅτι παρὰ τοῦτο Φιλίππος οὐκ ἦλθεν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ καλὰ τὰ ἱερά. τίνος οὖν ζημίας ἄξιος εἶ τυχεῖν, ὃ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριε; εἰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν κρατῶν οὐκ ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν τῶν κρατουμένων χώραν, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ καλὰ τὰ ἱερά, σὺ δ' οὐδὲν προειδὼς τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι πρὶν καλλιερῆσαι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐξέπεμψας, πότερον στεφανοῦσθαί σε δεῖ ἐπὶ ταῖς τῆς πόλεως ἀτυχίαις ἢ ὑπερωρίσθαι;
- 132 Τοιγάρτοι τί τῶν ἀνελπίστων καὶ ἀπροσδοκῆτων ἐφ' ἡμῶν οὐ γέγονεν; οὐ γὰρ βίον γε ἡμεῖς ἀνθρώπινον βεβιώκαμεν, ἀλλ' εἰς παραδοξολογίαν τοῖς ἔσομένοις μεθ' ἡμᾶς ἔφυμεν. οὐχ ὁ μὲν τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς, ὁ τὸν Ἀθῶ διορύξας, ὁ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ζεύξας, ὁ γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ τοὺς Ἑλληνας αἰτῶν, ὁ πολλῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς γράφειν ὅτι δεσπότης ἐστὶν

ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀνιόντος μέχρι δυο-  
 μένου, νῦν οὐ περὶ τοῦ κύριος εἶναι διαγωνίζεται,  
 ἀλλ' ἤδη περὶ τῆς τοῦ σώματος σωτηρίας; καὶ τοὺς  
 αὐτοῖς ὀρώμεν τῆς τε δόξης ταύτης καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ  
 τὸν Πέρσῃν ἡγεμονίας ἡξιωμένους, οἳ καὶ τὸ ἐν  
 Δελφοῖς ἱερὸν ἡλευθέρωσαν. Θῆβαι δέ, Θῆβαι, 133  
 πόλις ἀστυγείτων, μεθ' ἡμέραν μίαν ἐκ μέσης τῆς  
 Ἑλλάδος ἀνήρπασται, εἰ καὶ δικαίως, περὶ τῶν ὅλων  
 οὐκ ὀρθῶς βουλευσάμενοι, ἀλλὰ τὴν γε θεοβλάβειαν  
 καὶ τὴν ἀφροσύνην οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνως ἀλλὰ δαιμονίως  
 κτησάμενοι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' οἱ ταλαίπωροι, προσ-  
 αψάμενοι μόνον τούτων τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 περὶ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατάληψιν, οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
 ποτὲ ἀξιοῦντες ἡγεμόνες εἶναι, νῦν ὀμηρεύουσιν καὶ  
 τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐπιδείξιν ποιησόμενοι μέλλουσιν ὥς  
 Ἀλέξανδρον ἀναπέμπεσθαι, τοῦτο πεισόμενοι καὶ  
 αὐτοὶ καὶ ἡ πατρίς ὅ τι ἂν ἐκείνῳ δόξῃ, καὶ ἐν τῇ  
 τοῦ κρατοῦντος καὶ προηδικημένου μετριοτήτι κριθή-  
 σονται. ἡ δ' ἡμετέρα πόλις, ἡ κοινὴ καταφυγὴ τῶν 134  
 Ἑλλήνων, πρὸς ἣν ἀφικνοῦντο πρότερον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλ-  
 λάδος αἱ πρεσβεῖαι, κατὰ πόλεις ἕκαστοι παρ' ἡμῶν  
 τὴν σωτηρίαν εὐρησόμενοι, νῦν οὐκέτι περὶ τῆς τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας ἀγωνίζεται ἀλλ' ἤδη περὶ τοῦ  
 τῆς πατρίδος ἐδάφους. καὶ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν συμβέβηκεν  
 ἐξ ὅτου Δημοσθένης πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν προσελήλυ-  
 θεν. εὖ γὰρ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων Ἡσίοδος ὁ ποιητῆς  
 ἀποφαίνεται. λέγει γάρ που παιδεύων τὰ πλήθη καὶ  
 συμβουλεύων ταῖς πόλεσι τοὺς πονηροὺς τῶν δημα-  
 73 γωγῶν μὴ προσδέχεσθαι. λέξω δὲ καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἔπη διὰ 135  
 τοῦτο γὰρ οἶμαι ἡμᾶς παῖδας ὄντας τὰς τῶν ποιητῶν



γνώμας ἐκμανθάνειν, ἵν' ἄνδρες ὕντες αὐταῖς χρώμεθα

πολλάκι δὴ ξύμπασα πόλις κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπηύρα,  
ὅς κεν ἀλιτραίνει καὶ ἀτάσθαλα μηχανάται.  
τοῖσιν δ' οὐρανόθεν μέγ' ἐπήγαγε πῆμα Κρονίων,  
λιμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ λοιμόν, ἀποφθινύθουσι δὲ λαοί·  
ἢ τῶν γε στρατὸν εὐρὺν ἀπώλεσεν ἢ ὃ γε τείχος,  
ἢ νέας ἐν πόντῳ ἀποτίνυνται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς.

136 εἰ δὲ περιελόντες τοῦ ποιητοῦ τὸ μέτρον τὰς γνώ-  
μας ἐξετάζητε, οἶμαι ὑμῖν δόξειν οὐ ποιήματα Ἡσιό-  
δου εἶναι ἀλλὰ χρησμὸν εἰς τὴν Δημοσθένους πολι-  
τείαν· καὶ γὰρ ναυτικὴ καὶ πεζὴ στρατιὰ καὶ πόλεις  
ἄρδην εἰσὶν ἀνηρπασμένοι ἐκ τῆς τούτου πολιτείας.

137 Ἄλλ' οἶμαι, οὔτε Φρυγῶνδας οὔτε Εὐρύβατος οὔτ'  
ἄλλος οὔδεις πώποτε τῶν πάλοι ποιηρῶν τοιοῦτος  
μάγος καὶ γόης ἐγένετο, ὅς, ὧ γῇ καὶ θεοὶ καὶ δαί-  
μονες καὶ ἄνθρωποι ὅσοι βοίλεσθε ἀκούειν τάληθῃ,  
τολμᾷ λέγειν βλέπων εἰς τὰ πρόσωπα τὰ ὑμέτερα,  
ὥς ἄρα Θηβαῖοι τὴν συμμαχίαν ἡμῖν ἐποίησαντο οὐ  
διὰ τὸν καιρόν, οὐ διὰ τὸν φόβον τὸν περιστάντα  
αὐτούς, οὐ διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν δόξαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς

138 Δημοσθένους δημηγορίας. καίτοι πολλὰς μὲν πρότε-  
ρον πρεσβείας ἐπρέσβευσαν εἰς Θήβας οἱ μάλιστα  
οἰκειῶς ἐκείνοις διακείμενοι, πρῶτος μὲν Θρασύβου-  
λος ὁ Κολλυτεύς, ἀνὴρ ἐν Θήβαις πιστευθεὶς ὥς  
οὔδεις ἕτερος, πάλιν Θράσων ὁ Ἐρχιεύς, πρόξενος ὢν  
Θηβαίοις, Λεωδάμας ὁ Ἀχαρνεύς, οὐχ ἡττον Δημο-  
σθένους λέγειν δυνάμενος ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε καὶ ἡδίων,

139 Ἀρχέδημος ὁ Πήληξ, καὶ δυνατὸς εἰπεῖν καὶ πολλὰ  
κεκινδυνευκῶς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ διὰ Θηβαίους, Ἀρισ-

τοφῶν ὁ Ἀξηνιεὺς, πλεῖστον χρόνον τὴν τοῦ Βοιωτιά-  
 ζειν ὑπομείνας αἰτίαν, Πύρρανδρος ὁ Ἀναφλύστιος,  
 ὅς ἔτι καὶ νῦν ζῇ. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδεὶς πώποτε αὐτοῖς  
 ἐδυνήθη προτρέψασθαι εἰς τὴν ὑμετέραν φιλίαν. τὸ  
 δ' αἴτιον οἶδα μὲν, λέγειν δ' οὐδὲν δέομαι διὰ τὰς  
 ἀτυχίας αὐτῶν. ἀλλ' οἶμαι ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος αὐτῶν 140  
 ἀφελόμενος Νίκαιαν Θετταλοῖς παρέδωκε, καὶ τὸν  
 πόλεμον ὃν πρότερον ἐξήλασεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῆς  
 Βοιωτῶν, τοῦτον πάλιν τὸν αὐτὸν πόλεμον ἐπήγαγε  
 διὰ τῆς Φωκίδος ἐπ' αὐτὰς τὰς Θήβας, καὶ τὸ τε-  
 λευταῖον Ἐλάτειαν καταλαβὼν ἐχαράκωσε καὶ φρου-  
 ρὰν εἰσήγαγεν, ἐνταῦθ' ἤδη, ἐπεὶ τὸ δεινὸν αὐτῶν  
 ἤπτετο, μετεπέμψαντο Ἀθηναίους, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐξήλ-  
 θετε καὶ εἰσῆγείτε εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις διε-  
 σκευασμένοι, καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς καὶ οἱ πεζοί, πρὶν περὶ  
 συμμαχίας μίαν μόνην συλλαβὴν γράφαι Δημοσθέ-  
 νην. ὁ δ' εἰσάγων ἦν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰς Θήβας καιρὸς 141  
 καὶ φόβος καὶ χρεία συμμαχίας, ἀλλ' οὐ Δημοσθέ-  
 νης, ἐπεὶ περί γε ταύτας τὰς πράξεις τρία τὰ πάντων  
 μέγιστα Δημοσθένης εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐξημάρτηκε, πρῶτον  
 μὲν ὅτι Φιλίππου τῷ μὲν ὀνόματι πολεμοῦντος  
 ὑμῖν, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον μισοῦντος Θηβαίους,  
 ὥς αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα δεδήλωκε, καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πλείω  
 λέγειν; ταῦτα μὲν τὰ τηλικαῦτα τὸ μέγεθος ἀπεκρύ-  
 ψατο, προσποιησάμενος δὲ μέλλειν τὴν συμμαχίαν  
 γενήσεσθαι οὐ διὰ τοὺς καιροὺς ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς αὐτοῦ 142  
 πρεσβείας πρῶτον μὲν συνέπεισε τὸν δῆμον μηκέτι  
 βουλευέσθαι ἐπὶ τίσι δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν συμμαχίαν,  
 ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾶν μόνον εἰ γίγνεται, τοῦτο δὲ προλαβὼν  
 ἔκδοτον μὲν τὴν Βοιωτίαν πᾶσαν ἐποίησε Θηβαίοις,

- γράφας ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι, ἐάν τις ἀφιστῇται πόλις ἀπὸ Θηβαίων, βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίους Βοιωτοῖς τοῖς ἐν Θήβαις, τοῖς ὀνόμασι κλέπτων καὶ μεταφέρων τὰ πράγματα, ὥσπερ εἶωθεν, ὡς τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς ἔργῳ 71 κακῶς πάσχοντας τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων σύνθεσιν τῶν Δημοσθένους ἀγαπήσοντας, ἀλλ' οὐ μᾶλλον ἐφ' οἷς
- 143 κακῶς πεπόνθεσαν ἀγανακτῆσοντας· δεύτερον δὲ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλωμάτων τὰ μὲν δύο μέρη ὑμῖν ἀνέθηκεν, οἷς ἦσαν ἀπωτέρω οἱ κίνδυνοι, τὸ δὲ τρίτον μέρος Θηβαίοις, δωροδοκῶν ἐφ' ἐκάστοις τούτων, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τὴν μὲν κατὰ θάλατταν ἐποίησε κοινήν, τὸ δ' ἀνάλωμα ἴδιον ὑμέτερον, τὴν δὲ κατὰ γῆν, εἰ μὴ δεῖ ληρεῖν, ἄρδην φέρων ἀνέθηκε Θηβαίοις, ὥστε παρὰ τὸν γενόμενον πόλεμον μὴ κύριον γενέσθαι Στρατοκλέα τὸν ἡμέτερον στρατηγὸν βουλευ-
- 144 σασθαι περὶ τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν σωτηρίας. καὶ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐγὼ μὲν κατηγορῶ ἕτεροι δὲ παραλείπουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γὰρ λέγω καὶ πάντες ἐπιτιμῶσι καὶ ὑμεῖς σύνιστε καὶ οὐκ ὀργίζεσθε. ἐκεῖνο γὰρ πεπόνθατε πρὸς Δημοσθένην· συνείθισθε ἤδη τὰ δίκηματα τὰ τούτου ἀκούειν, ὥστε οὐ θαυμάζετε. δεῖ δὲ οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ' ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι, εἰ χρή τὰ λοιπὰ τῇ πόλει καλῶς ἔχειν.
- 145 Δεύτερον δὲ καὶ πολὺ τούτου μείζον ἀδίκημα ἡδίκησεν, ὅτι τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἄρδην ἔλαθεν ὑφελόμενος καὶ μετήνεγκεν εἰς Θήβας εἰς τὴν Καδμείαν, τὴν κοινω-νίαν τῶν πράξεων τοῖς Βοιωτάρχεις συνθέμενος· καὶ τηλικαύτην αὐτὸς αὐτῷ δυναστείαν κατεσκεύασεν, ὥστ' ἤδη παριῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα πρεσβεύσειν μὲν ἔφη



ἔποιοι ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ, καὶ μὴ ὑμεῖς ἐκπέμπητε, εἰ δέ 146  
 τις αὐτῷ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀντείποι, καταδουλούμενος  
 τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ συνεθίζων μηδὲν αὐτῷ ἀντιλέγειν  
 διαδικασίαν ἔφη γράψειν τῷ βήματι πρὸς τὸ στρατή-  
 γιον· πλείω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἀγαθὰ ἰφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἔφη ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ βήματος πεπονθέναι ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκ  
 τοῦ στρατηγίου. μισθοφορῶν δ' ἐν τῷ ξενικῷ κε-  
 ναῖς χώραις, καὶ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ χρήματα κλέπτων  
 καὶ τοὺς μυρίους ξένους ἐκμισθώσας Ἀμφισσεῖσι  
 πολλὰ διαμαρτυρομένου καὶ σχετλιάζοντος ἐν ταῖς  
 ἐκκλησίαις ἐμοῦ, προσέμιξε φέρων ἀναρπασθέντων  
 τῶν ξένων τὸν κίνδυνον ἀπαρασκεύῳ τῇ πόλει. τί 147  
 γὰρ ἂν οἴεσθε Φίλιππον ἐν τοῖς τότε καιροῖς εὖξα-  
 σθαι; οὐ χωρὶς μὲν πρὸς τὴν πολιτικὴν δύναμιν  
 χωρὶς δ' ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πρὸς τοὺς ξένους διαγωνίσα-  
 σθαι, ἀθύρους δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας λαβεῖν τηλικαύτης  
 πληγῆς προγεγενημένης; καὶ τηλικούτων κακῶν αἴ-  
 τιος γεγενημένος Δημοσθένης οὐκ ἀγαπᾷ εἰ μὴ δίκην  
 δέδωκεν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ καὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ στεφανω-  
 θήσεται ἀγανακτεῖ· οὐδ' ἰκανόν ἐστιν αὐτῷ ἐναντίον  
 ὑμῶν κηρύττεσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐναν-  
 τίον ἀναρρηθήσεται, τοῦτ' ἤδη ἀγανακτεῖ. οὕτως, ὥς  
 ἔοικε, πονηρὰ φύσις μεγάλης ἐξουσίας ἐπιλαβομένη  
 δημοσίας ἀπεργάζεται συμφοράς.

Τρίτον δὲ καὶ τῶν προειρημένων μέγιστόν ἐστιν 148  
 ὃ μέλλω λέγειν. Φιλίππου γὰρ οὐ καταφρονούντος  
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὐδ' ἀγνοοῦντος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀσύνητος)  
 ὅτι περὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀγαθῶν ἐν ἡμέρας μικρῷ  
 μέρει διαγωνιέται, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα βουλομένου ποιή-  
 σασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ πρεσβείας ἀποστέλλειν μέλ-

λοντος, καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν ἐν Θήβαις φοβουμέ-  
 νων τὸν ἐπιόντα κίνδυνον (εἰκότως· οὐ γὰρ ῥήτωρ  
 ἀστράτευτος καὶ λιπὼν τὴν τάξιν αὐτοὺς ἐνουθέ-  
 τησεν, ἀλλ' ὁ Φωκικὸς πόλεμος δεκαετὴς γεγονὼς  
 149 αἰμύνηστον παιδείαν αὐτοὺς ἐπαίδευσε), τούτων δὲ  
 ἐχόντων οὕτως αἰσθόμενος Δημοσθένης, καὶ τοὺς  
 Βοιωτάρχας ὑποπτεύσας μέλλειν εἰρήνην ἰδίᾳ ποιεῖ-  
 σθαι χρυσίον ἄνευ αὐτοῦ παρὰ Φίλιππου λαβόντας,  
 ἀβίωτον ἡγησάμενος εἶναι εἴ τις ἀπολειφθῇσεται  
 δωροδοκίας, ἀναπηδήσας ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐδενὸς ἀν-  
 θρώπων λέγοντος οὐθ' ὥς δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς Φίλιπ-  
 πον εἰρήνην οὐθ' ὥς οὐ δεῖ, ἀλλ', ὥς ᾤετο, τοῦτο κή-  
 ρυγμά τι τοῖς Βοιωτάρχαις προκηρύττων ἀναφέρειν  
 150 αὐτῷ τὰ μέρη τῶν λημμάτων, διώμνυτο τὴν Ἀθηναῖν  
 (ἤν, ὥς ἔοικε, Φειδίας ἐνεργολαβεῖν εἰργάσατο καὶ  
 ἐνεπιорκεῖν Δημοσθένει) ἢ μὴν εἴ τις ἐρεῖ ὥς χρή 75  
 πρὸς Φίλιππον εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι ἀπάξειν εἰς τὸ  
 δεσμωτήριον ἐπιλαβόμενος τῶν τριχῶν, ἀπομιμού-  
 μενος τὴν Κλεοφῶντος πολιτείαν, ὃς ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς  
 Λακεδαιμονίους πολέμου, ὥς λέγεται, τὴν πόλιν  
 ἀπώλεσεν. ὥς δ' οὐ προσεῖχον αὐτῷ οἱ ἄρχοντες οἱ  
 ἐν ταῖς Θήβαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς  
 ὑμετέρους πάλιν ἀνέστρεψαν ἐξεληλυθότας, ἵνα βου-  
 151 λεύσησθε περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἐνταῦθα παντάπασιν  
 ἔκφρων ἐγένετο, καὶ παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα προδό-  
 τας τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς Βοιωτάρχας ἀπεκάλεσε, καὶ  
 γράφειν ἔφη ψήφισμα ὁ τοῖς πολεμίοις οἰδέποτ' ἀν-  
 τιβλέψας πέμπειν ὑμᾶς πρέσβεις εἰς Ἱθάβας αἰτή-  
 σοντας Θηβαίους δίοδον ἐπὶ Φίλιππον. ὑπεραισχυ-  
 θέντες δὲ οἱ ἐν Θήβαις ἄρχοντες μὴ δόξωσιν ὥς

ἀληθῶς εἶναι προδότην τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπετράποντο, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν παράταξιν ὥρμησαν.

Ἐνθα δὴ καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄξιόν ἐστιν 152 ἐπιμνησθῆναι, οὓς οὗτος ἀθύτων καὶ ἀκαλλιερέτων ὄντων τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκπέμψας ἐπὶ τὸν πρόδηλον κίνδυνον ἐτόλμησε τοῖς δραπεταῖς ποσὶ καὶ λελοιπόσι τὴν τάξιν ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον τῶν τετελευτηκόντων ἐγκωμιάζειν τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετὴν. ὧ πρὸς μὲν τὰ μεγάλα καὶ σπουδαῖα πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀχρηστότατε, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τίλμαν θαυμασιώτατε, ἐπιχειρήσεις αὐτίκα μάλα, βλέπων εἰς τὰ τούτων πρόσωπα, λέγειν ὡς δεῖ σε ἐπὶ ταῖς τῆς πόλεως συμφοραῖς στεφανοῦσθαι; ἂν δ' οὗτος λέγῃ, ὑμεῖς ὑπομενεῖτε, καὶ συναποθανεῖται τοῖς τελευτήσασι, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ ἡ ὑμετέρα μνήμη; γέ- 153 νεσθε δὴ μοι μικρὸν χρόνον τὴν διάνοιαν μὴ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, καὶ νομίσαθ' ὁρᾶν προιόντα τὸν κήρυκα καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἀνάρρησιν μέλλουσιν γίνεσθαι, καὶ λογίσασθε πότερ' οἴεσθε τοὺς οἰκείους τῶν τελευτησάντων πλείω δάκρυα ἀφήσειν ἐπὶ ταῖς τραγωδίαις καὶ τοῖς ἡρωικοῖς πάθεσι τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπεισιούσιν ἢ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς πόλεως ἀγνωμοσύνῃ. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀλγῇ- 154 σειεν ἄνθρωπος Ἕλληνα καὶ παιδευθεὶς ἐλευθερίως, ἀναμνησθεὶς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐκεῖνό γε, εἰ μηδὲν ἕτερον, ὅτι ταύτῃ ποτὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μελλόντων ὥσπερ νυνὶ τῶν τραγῳδῶν γίνεσθαι, ὅτ' εὐνομεῖτο μᾶλλον ἢ πόλις καὶ βελτίοσι προστάταις ἐχρήτο, προελθὼν ὁ κήρυξ καὶ παραστησάμενος τοὺς ὀρφανούς



ὧν οἱ πατέρες ἦσαν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τετελευτηκότες, νεανίσκους πανοπλία κεκοσμημένους, ἐκήρυττε τὸ κάλλιστον κήρυγμα καὶ προτρεπτικώτατον πρὸς ἀρετὴν, ὅτι τοῦσδε τοὺς νεανίσκους, ὧν οἱ πατέρες ἐτελεύτησαν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι, μέχρι μὲν ἥβης ὁ δῆμος ἔτρεφε, νυνὶ δὲ καθοπλίσας τῇδε τῇ πανοπλίᾳ ἀφήσιν ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ τρέπεσθαι

- 155 ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν, καὶ καλεῖ εἰς προεδρίαν. τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἐκήρυττεν, ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν, ἀλλὰ παραστη-  
 σάμενος τὸν τῆς ὀρφανίας τοῖς παισὶν αἴτιον τί ποτ' ἀνερεῖ ἢ τί φθέγγεται; καὶ γὰρ ἐὰν αὐτὰ διεξή τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ψηφίσματος προστάγματα, ἀλλ' οὐ τό γ' ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας αἰσχροὺν σιωπηθήσεται ἀλλὰ τὰναντία δόξει τῇ τοῦ κήρυκος φωνῇ φθέγγεσθαι, ὅτι τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα, εἰ δὴ καὶ οὗτος ἀνὴρ, στεφανοῖ ὁ δῆμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα τὸν κάκιστον, καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἕνεκα τὸν ἀνανδρον καὶ λελοιπότα τὴν  
 156 τάξιν. μὴ πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, ἱκετεύω ὑμᾶς, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ τρέπαιον ἴστατε ἀφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Διονύσου ὀρχήστρᾳ, μηδ' αἰρεῖτε παρανοίας ἐναντίον τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μηδ' ὑπομιμνήσκετε τῶν ἀνιάτων καὶ ἀνηκέστων κακῶν τοὺς ταλαιπώρους Θηβαίους, οὓς φυγόντας διὰ τοῦτον ὑποδέδεχθε τῇ πόλει, ὧν ἱερὰ καὶ τέκνα καὶ τάφους ἀπώλεσεν ἡ Δημοσθένους  
 157 δωροδοκία καὶ τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τοῖς σώμασιν οὐ παρεγένεσθε, ἀλλὰ ταῖς γε διανομίαις ἀποβλέψατ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς συμφοράς, καὶ νομίσαθ' ὁρᾶν ἀλISCOμένην τὴν πόλιν, τειχῶν κατασκαφάς, ἐμπρήσεις οἰκιῶν, ἀγομένας γυναῖκας

καὶ παῖδας εἰς δουλείαν, πρεσβύτας ἀνθρώπους, πρεσβύτιδας γυναῖκας, ὅψ' μεταμανθάνοντας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, κλαίοντας, ἱκετεύοντας ὑμᾶς, ὀργιζομένους οὐ τοῖς τιμωρουμένοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς τούτων αἰτίοις, ἐπισκῆπτοντας μηδενὶ τρόπῳ τὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριον στεφανοῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην τὴν συμπαρακολουθοῦσαν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ φυλάξασθαι. οὔτε πόλις γὰρ οὔτ' ἰδιώτης 158 ἀνὴρ οὐδεὶς πώποτε καλῶς ἀπήλλαξε Δημοσθένει συμβούλῳ χρησάμενος. ὑμεῖς δ', ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε εἰ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς πορθμέας τοὺς εἰς Σαλαμίνα πορθμείοντας νόμον ἔθεσθε, εἴαν τις αὐτῶν ἄκων ἐν τῷ πόρῳ πλοῖον ἀνατρέψῃ, τούτῳ μὴ ἐξεῖναι πάλιν πορθμεῖ γενέσθαι, ἵνα μηδεὶς αὐτοσχεδιάζῃ εἰς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σώματα, τὸν δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄρδην ἀνατετροφότα, τοῦτον ἐάσετε πάλιν ἐπευθύνειν τὰ κοινά;

Ἴνα δ' εἴπω καὶ περὶ τοῦ τετάρτου καιροῦ καὶ 159 τῶν νυνὶ καθεστηκότων πραγμάτων, ἐκεῖνο ὑμᾶς ὑπομνῆσαι βούλομαι, ὅτι Δημοσθένης οὐ τὴν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου μόνον τάξιν ἔλιπεν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.... τριήρη προσλαβὼν ὑμῶν, καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἡργυρολόγησε. καταγαγούσης δ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῆς ἀπροσδοκίτου σωτηρίας τοὺς μὲν πρώτους χρόνους ὑπότρομος ἦν ἄνθρωπος, καὶ παριῶν ἡμιθνὴς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα εἰρηνοφύλακα ὑμᾶς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε χειροτονεῖν· ὑμεῖς δὲ [κατὰ μὲν τοὺς πρώτους χρόνους] οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα εἰλάτε τὸ Δημοσθένους ἐπιγράφειν ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ Ναυσικλεῖ τοῦτο προσετάττετε· νυνὶ δ' ἤδη καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι

- 160 ἀξιοῖ. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐτελεύτησε μὲν Φίλιππος, Ἀλέξαν-  
 δρος δ' εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέστη, πάλιν αὖ τερατευόμε-  
 νος ἱερὰ μὲν ἰδρύσατο Πausανίου, εἰς αἰτίαν δὲ εὐαγ-  
 γελίων θυσίας τὴν βουλὴν κατέστησεν, ἐπωνυμίαν  
 δ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Μαργίτην ἐτίθετο, ἀπετόλμα δὲ  
 λέγειν ὥς οὐ κινηθήσεται ἐκ Μακεδονίας· ἀγαπᾶν  
 γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔφη ἐν Πέλλῃ περιπατοῦντα καὶ τὰ  
 σπλάγχνα φυλάττοντα. καὶ ταῦτα λέγειν ἔφη οὐκ  
 εἰκάζων, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς εἰδὼς ὅτι αἵματός ἐστιν ἢ  
 ἀρετὴ ὥνία, αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔχων αἷμα καὶ θεωρῶν τὸν  
 Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου φύσεως ἀλλ'
- 161 ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀνανδρίας. ἤδη δ' ἐψηφισμένων  
 Θετταλῶν ἐπιστρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν,  
 καὶ τοῦ νεανίσκου τὸ πρῶτον παροξυνθέντος εἰκό-  
 τως, ἐπειδὴ περὶ Θήβας ἦν τὸ στρατόπεδον, πρε-  
 σβευτὴς ὑφ' ὑμῶν χειροτονηθείς, ἀποδρὰς ἐκ μέσου  
 τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος ἦκεν ὑποστρέψας, οὗτ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ  
 οὗτ' ἐν πολέμῳ χρήσιμον ἑαυτὸν παρέχων. καὶ τὸ  
 πάντων δεινότατον, ὑμεῖς μὲν τοῦτον οὐ προὔδοτε,  
 οὐδ' εἰάσατε κριθῆναι ἐν τῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεδρίῳ,  
 οὗτος δ' ὑμᾶς νῦν προδέδωκεν, εἴπερ ἀληθὴ ἐστὶν ἃ
- 162 λέγεται. ὥς γάρ φασιν οἱ Πάραλοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβεύ-  
 σαντες πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον (καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰκότως  
 πιστεύεται), ἔστι τις Ἀριστίων Πλαταῖκός, ὁ τοῦ  
 Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ φαρμακοπώλου υἱός, εἴ τις ἄρα  
 καὶ ὑμῶν γινώσκει. οὗτός ποτε ὁ νεανίσκος ἐτέρων  
 τὴν ὄψιν διαφέρων [γενόμενος] ὥκησε πολλὸν χρόνον  
 ἐν τῇ Δημοσθένους οἰκίᾳ· ὃ τι δὲ πράττων ἢ πά-  
 σχων, ἀμφίβολος ἢ αἰτία καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐδαμῶς  
 εὐσχημον ἐμοὶ λέγειν. οὗτος, ὥς ἐγὼ ἀκούω, ἡγνο-



ημένος ὅστις ποτ' ἐστὶ καὶ πῶς βεβιωκώς, τὸν  
 Ἀλέξανδρον ὑποτρέχει καὶ πλησιάζει ἐκείνῳ. διὰ  
 τούτου γράμματα πέμψας ὡς Ἀλέξανδρον ἄδειάν  
 τινα εὔρηται καὶ διαλλαγὰς καὶ πολλὴν κολακείαν  
 πεποιήται. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ θεωρήσατε ὡς ὅμοιόν ἐστι 163  
 τὸ πρᾶγμα τῇ αἰτίᾳ. εἰ γάρ τι τούτων ἐφρόνει  
 Δημοσθένης καὶ πολεμικῶς εἶχεν, ὥσπερ καὶ φησί,  
 πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, τρεῖς αὐτῷ καιροὶ κάλλιστοι  
 77 παραγεγόνασιν, ὧν οὐδενὶ φαίνεται κεχρημένος. εἰς  
 μὲν ὁ πρῶτος, ὅτ' εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐ πάλαι καθεστη-  
 κώς Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπαρασκεύων αὐτῷ τῶν ἰδίων  
 ὄντων εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διέβη, ἤκμαζε δ' ὁ τῶν Περ-  
 σῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ χρήμασι καὶ πεζῇ  
 στρατιᾷ, ἄσμενος δ' ἂν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν συμμαχίαν  
 προσεδέξατο διὰ τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους αὐτῷ κινδύ-  
 νους. εἰπὰς τινα ἐνταῦθα λόγον, Δημίσθενης, ἢ  
 ἔγραψάς τι ψήφισμα; βούλει σε θῶ φοβηθῆναι  
 καὶ χρήσασθαι τῷ σαυτοῦ τρόπῳ; καίτοι ῥητορικὴν  
 δειλίαν δημόσιος καιρὸς οὐκ ἀναμένει· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ 164  
 πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει Δαρείῳ κατεβεβήκει, ὁ δ' Ἀλέξ-  
 ανδρος ἦν ἀπειλημένος ἐν Κιλικίᾳ πάντων ἐνδεής,  
 ὡς ἔφησθα σύ, αὐτίκα μάλα δ' ἤμελλεν, ὡς ἦν ὁ  
 παρὰ σοῦ λόγος, συμπατηθῆσεσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς Περσι-  
 κῆς ἵππου, τὴν δὲ σὴν ἀηδίαν ἢ πόλις οὐκ ἐχάρει  
 καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἅς ἐξηρτημένος ἐκ τῶν δακτύλων  
 περιήεις, ἐπιδεικνύων τισὶ τὸ ἐμὲν πρόσωπον ὡς  
 ἐκπεπληγμένου καὶ ἀθυμοῦντος, καὶ χρυσόκερων  
 ἀποκαλῶν καὶ κατεστέφθαι φάσκων εἴ τι πταῖσμα  
 συμβήσεται Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα ἔπραξας  
 οὐδέν, ἀλλ' εἰς τινα καιρὸν ἀνεβάλλου καλλίῳ.

- 165 ὑπερβὰς τοίνυν ἅπαντα ταῦτα ὑπὲρ τῶν νυνὶ καθε-  
στηκότων λέξω. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν καὶ τὸ ξενικὸν  
ἐπέτυχον μάχῃ καὶ διέφθειραν τοὺς περὶ Κόρραγον  
στρατιώτας, Ἡλεῖοι δ' αὐτοῖς συμμετεβάλλοντο καὶ  
Ἀχαιοὶ πάντες πλὴν Πελληναίων καὶ Ἀρκαδία  
πᾶσα πλὴν Μεγάλης πόλεως, αὕτη δὲ ἐπολιορκεῖτο  
καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπίδοξος ἦν ἀλῶναι, ὁ δ'  
Ἀλέξανδρος ἔξω τῆς ἄρκτου καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης  
ὀλίγου δεῖν πάσης μεθιστήκει, ὁ δὲ Ἀντίπατρος  
πολὺν χρόνον συνῆγε στρατόπεδον, τὸ δ' ἐσόμενον  
ἄδηλον ἦν. ἐνταῦθ' ἡμῖν ἀπόδειξιν ποιῆσαι, Δη-  
μόσθενες, τί ποτ' ἦν ἂν ἔπραξας ἢ τί ποτ' ἦν ἂν  
ἔλεγες· καὶ εἰ βούλει, παραχωρῶ σοι τοῦ βήματος,  
166 ἕως ἂν εἴπῃς. ἐπειδὴ δὲ σιγᾶς, ὅτι μὲν ἀπορεῖς,  
συγγνώμην ἔχω σοι, ἂν δὲ τότε ἔλεγες, ἐγὼ νῦν λέξω.  
οὐ μέμνησθε αὐτοῦ τὰ μιὰ καὶ ἀπίθανα ῥήματα,  
ἂν πῶς ποθ' ὑμεῖς ὦ σιδήρεοι ἐκαρτερεῖτε ἀκροώ-  
μενοι; ὅτ' ἔφη παρελθὼν “ἀμπελουργοῦσί τινες  
τὴν πόλιν,” “ἀνατετμήκασί τινες τὰ κλήματα τοῦ  
δήμου,” “ὑποτέτμηται τὰ νεῦρα τῶν πραγμάτων,”  
“φορμορραφούμεθα,” “ἐπὶ τὰ στενά τινες ὥσπερ τὰς  
167 βελόνας διείρουσι.” ταῦτα δὲ τί ἐστίν, ὦ κίναδος;  
ῥήματα ἢ θαύματα; καὶ πάλιν ὅτε κύκλῳ περιδινῶν  
σεαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἔλεγες ὡς ἀντιπράττων  
Ἀλεξάνδρῳ “ὁμολογῶ τὰ Λακωνικὰ συστήσαι,  
ὁμολογῶ Θετταλοὺς καὶ Περραιβοὺς ἀφιστάναι.”  
σὺ γὰρ ἂν κώμην ἀποστήσαιοι; σὺ γὰρ ἂν προσέλ-  
θοις μὴ ὅτι πρὸς πόλιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς οἰκίαν ὅπου  
κίνδυνος πρόσεστιν; ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν που χρήματα  
ἀναλίσκεται, προσκαθιζήσῃ, πρᾶξιν δὲ ἀνδρὸς οὐ

πράξεις· ἐὰν δ' αὐτόματόν τι συμβῇ, προσποιήσῃ καὶ σαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ γεγενημένον ἐπιγράψῃς· ἂν δ' ἔλθῃ φόβος τις, ἀποδράσῃ· ἐὰν δὲ θαρρήσωμεν, δωρεὰς αἰτήσεις καὶ χρυσοῖς στεφάνοις στεφανοῦσθαι.

Ναί, ἀλλὰ δημοτικός ἐστίν. ἐὰν μὲν τοίνυν πρὸς 168  
τὴν εὐφημίαν τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ ἀποβλέπητε, ἐξαπατηθήσεσθε ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον· ἐὰν δ' εἰς τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὐκ ἐξαπατηθήσεσθε. ἐκείνως δὲ ἀπολάβετε παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον. ἐγὼ μὲν μεθ' ἑμῶν λογιῶμαι ἃ δεῖ ὑπάρξαι ἐν τῇ φύσει τῷ δημοτικῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ σώφρονι, καὶ πάλιν ἀντιθήσω ποῖόν τινα εἰκὸς ἐστὶν εἶναι τὸν ὀλιγαρχικὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ φαῦλον· ὑμεῖς δ' ἀντιθέντες ἐκάτερα τούτων θεωρήσατ' αὐτόν, μὴ ὅποτέρου τοῦ λόγου ἀλλ' ὅποτέρου τοῦ βίου ἐστίν. οἶμαι τοίνυν ἅπαντας ἂν 169  
ὁμολογῆσαι ὑμᾶς τάδε δεῖν ὑπάρξαι τῷ δημοτικῷ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐλεύθερον αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ πρὸς πατρός καὶ πρὸς μητρός, ἵνα μὴ διὰ τὴν περὶ τὸ γένος ἀτυ-  
78 χίαν δυσμενῆς ἢ τοῖς νόμοις οὐ σώζουσι τὴν δημοκρατίαν, δεύτερον δ' ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων εὐεργεσίαν τινὰ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὑπάρχειν, ἢ τό γ' ἀναγκαιότατον μηδεμίαν ἔχθραν, ἵνα μὴ βοηθῶν τοῖς τῶν προγόνων ἀτυχήμασι κακῶς ἐπιχειρῇ ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν. τρίτον σώφρονα καὶ μέτριον χρή πεφυκέναι 170  
αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν δίαίταν, ὥπως μὴ διὰ τὴν ἀσέλγειαν τῆς δαπάνης δωροδοκῇ κατὰ τοῦ δήμου, τέταρτον εὐγνώμονα καὶ δυνατὸν εἰπεῖν· καλὸν γάρ τὴν μὲν διάνοιαν προαιρεῖσθαι τὰ βέλτιστα, τὴν δὲ παιδείαν τὴν τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ τὸν λόγον πείθειν



τοὺς ἀκούοντας· εἰ δὲ μή, τὴν γ' εὐγνωμοσύνην αἰεὶ προτακτέον τοῦ λόγου. πέμπτον ἀνδρεῖον εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν, ἵνα μὴ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἐγκαταλείπη τὸν δῆμον. τὸν δ' ὀλιγαρχικὸν πάντα δεῖ τὰναντία τούτων ἔχειν· τί γὰρ δεῖ πάλιν διεξιέναι; σκέψασθε δὴ τί τούτων ὑπάρχει Δημοσθένει· ὁ δὲ λογισμὸς ἔστω ἐπὶ πᾶσι δικαίοις.

- 171 Τοῦτ' ὁ πατὴρ μὲν ἦν Δημοσθένης ὁ Παιανιεύς, ἀνὴρ ἐλεύθερος· οὐ γὰρ δεῖ ψεύδεσθαι· τὰ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τοῦ πάππου τοῦ πρὸς μητρὸς πῶς ἔχει αὐτῷ; ἐγὼ φράσω. Γίλων ἦν ἐκ Κεραμέων. οὗτος προδοὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις Νύμφαιον τὸ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ, τότε τῆς πόλεως ἐχούσης τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο, φυγὰς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐγένετο θανάτου καταγνωσθέντος αὐτοῦ, τὴν κρίσιν οὐχ ὑπομείνας, καὶ ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Βόσπορον, κάκεῖ λαμβάνει δωρεὰν παρὰ
- 172 τῶν τυράννων τοὺς ὀνομασμένους Κήπους, καὶ γαμεῖ γυναῖκα πλουσίαν μὲν νῆ Δία καὶ χρυσίον ἐπιφερομένην πολὺ, Σκύθιν δὲ τὸ γένος, ἐξ ἧς γίγνονται αὐτῷ θυγατέρες δύο, αἱ ἐκείνος δεῦρο μετὰ πολλῶν χρημάτων στείλας συνώκισε τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν ὕψωδήποτε, ἵνα μὴ πολλοῖς ἀπεχθάνωμαι· τὴν δ' ἑτέραν ἔγημε παριδὼν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως νόμους Δημοσθένης ὁ Παιανιεύς, ἐξ ἧς ὑμῖν ὁ περίεργος καὶ συκοφάντης Δημοσθένης γεγέννηται. οὐκοῦν ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ πάππου [τοῦ πρὸς μητρὸς] πολέμιος ἂν εἴη τῷ δήμῳ (θάνατον γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῶν προγόνων κατέγνωτε), τὰ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Σκύθης, βάρβαρος ἐλληνίζων τῇ φωνῇ· ὅθεν
- 173 καὶ τὴν πονηρίαν οὐκ ἐπιχώριός ἐστι. Περὶ δὲ τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν δίαιταν τίς ἐστίν; ἐκ τριηράρχου λογο-

γράφος ἀνεφάνη, τὰ πατρῷα καταγελάστως προέμε-  
 νος· ἄπιστος δὲ καὶ περὶ ταῦτα δόξας εἶναι καὶ τοὺς  
 λόγους ἐκφέρων τοῖς ἀντιδίκοις ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὸ  
 βῆμα· πλείστον δ' ἐκ τῆς πίλεως εἰληφὼς ἀργύριον  
 ἐλάχιστα περιεποιήσατο. νῦν μέντοι τὸ βασιλικὸν  
 χρυσίον ἐπικέκλυκε τὴν δαπάνην αὐτοῦ, ἔσται δ'  
 οἷδὲ τοῦθ' ἱκανόν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ πώποτε πλοῦτος τρό-  
 που πονηροῦ περιεγένετο. καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον, τὸν  
 βίον οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων προσόδων πορίζεται ἀλλ' ἐκ  
 τῶν ὑμετέρων κινδύνων. περὶ δ' εὐγνωμοσύνην καὶ 174  
 λόγου δύναμιν πῶς πέφυκε; δεινὸς λέγειν, κακὸς  
 βιώναι. οὕτω γὰρ κέχρηται καὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ σώματι  
 καὶ παιδοποιῖα, ὥστ' ἐμὲ μὴ βούλεσθαι λέγειν ἂ  
 τούτῳ πέπρακται· ἤδη γάρ ποτε εἶδον μισηθέντας  
 τοὺς τὰ τῶν πλησίον αἰσχροὺς λίαν σαφῶς λέγοντας.  
 ἔπειτα τί συμβαίνει τῇ πόλει; οἱ μὲν λόγοι καλοί,  
 τὰ δ' ἔργα φαῦλα. πρὸς δὲ ἀνδρίαν βραχὺς μοι λεί- 175  
 πεται λόγος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἡρνεῖτο μὴ δειλὸς εἶναι ἢ  
 ὑμεῖς μὴ συνήδειτε, διατριβὴν ὁ λόγος ἂν μοι παρ-  
 ἔσχεν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλη-  
 σίαις καὶ ὑμεῖς σύνιστε, λοιπὸν ὑπομνήσαι τοὺς  
 περὶ τούτων κειμένους νόμους. ὁ γὰρ Σόλων ὁ  
 παλαιὸς νομοθέτης ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιμίοις ᾤετο  
 δεῖν ἐνέχεσθαι τὸν ἀστράτευτον καὶ τὸν λελοιπότα  
 τὴν τάξιν καὶ τὸν δειλὸν ὁμοίως· εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ δειλίας  
 γραφαί. καίτοι θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις ὑμῶν εἰ εἰσὶ  
 φύσεως γραφαί. εἰσὶν. τίνος ἕνεκα; ὅς ἑκαστος  
 ἡμῶν τὰς ἐκ τῶν νόμων ζημίας φοβούμενος μᾶλλον  
 79 ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμείνων ἀγωνιστῆς ὑπὲρ τῆς πα-  
 τρίδος ὑπάρχει. ὁ μὲν τοίνυν νομοθέτης τὸν ἀστρά- 176

τευτον καὶ τὸν δειλὸν καὶ τὸν λιπόντα τὴν τάξιν ἔξω τῶν περιρραντηρίων τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐξείργει, καὶ οὐκ ἐὰ στεφανοῦσθαι οὐδ' εἰσιέναι εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ δημοτελῆ· σὺ δὲ τὸν ἀστεφάνωτον ἐκ τῶν νόμων κελεύεις ἡμᾶς στεφανοῦν, καὶ τῷ σαυτοῦ ψηφίσματι τὸν οὐ προσήκοντα εἰσκαλεῖς τοῖς τραγωδοῖς εἰς τὴν ὀρχήστραν, εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διονύσου τὸν τὰ ἱερὰ διὰ δειλίαν προδεδωκότα.

Ἴνα δὲ μὴ ἀποπλανῶ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ἐκεῖνο μέμνησθε ὅταν φῇ δημοτικὸς εἶναι. θεωρεῖτ' αὐτοῦ μὴ τὸν λόγον ἀλλὰ τὸν βίον, καὶ σκοπεῖτε μὴ τίς φησιν εἶναι ἀλλὰ τίς ἐστίν.

177 Ἐπεὶ δὲ στεφάνων ἀνεμνήσθην καὶ δωρεῶν, ἕως ἔτι μέμνημαι, προλέγω ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ μὴ καταλύσετε τὰς ἀφθόλους ταύτας δωρεὰς καὶ τοὺς εἰκῇ διδομένους στεφάνους, οὗθ' οἱ τιμώμενοι χάριν ὑμῖν εἴσονται οὔτε τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα ἐπανορθωθήσεται· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πονηροὺς οὐ μὴ ποτε βελτίους ποιήσετε, τοὺς δὲ χρηστοὺς εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην ἀθυμίαν ἐμβαλεῖτε. ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, μεγάλα

178 τούτων οἶμαι σημεῖα δείξειν ὑμῖν. εἰ γὰρ τις ὑμᾶς ἐρωτήσκει πότερον ὑμῖν ἐνδοξοτέρα δοκεῖ ἢ πόλις εἶναι ἐπὶ τῶν νυνὶ καιρῶν ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων, ἅπαντες ἂν ὁμολογήσαιτε, ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων. ἄνδρες δὲ πότερον τότε ἀμείνους ἦσαν ἢ νυνί; τότε μὲν διαφέροντες, νυνὶ δὲ πολλῶ καταδεέστεροι. δωρεαὶ δὲ καὶ στέφανοι καὶ κηρύγματα καὶ σιτήσεις ἐν πρυτανείῳ πότερον τότε ἦσαν πλείους ἢ νυνί; τότε μὲν ἦν σπάνια τὰ καλὰ παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὄνομα τίμιον· νῦν δ' ἤδη καταπέπλυται τὸ πρᾶγμα,



καὶ τὸ στεφανοῦν ἐξ ἔθους ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας  
 ποιείσθε. οὐκ οὖν ἄτοπον οὕτως διανοιζομένοις 179  
 τὰς μὲν δωρεὰς νῦν πλείους εἶναι, τὰ δὲ πράγματα  
 τῆς πόλεως τότε μᾶλλον ἢ νῦν ἰσχύειν, καὶ τοὺς  
 ἄνδρας νῦν μὲν χείρους εἶναι, τότε δ' ἀμείνους; ἐγὼ  
 δὲ τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς ἐπιχειρήσω διδάσκειν. οἷεσθ' ἂν ποτε  
 ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐθέλησαί τινα ἐπασκεῖν εἰς τὰ Ὀλύμπια  
 ἢ εἰς ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν στεφανιτῶν ἀγώνων παγκρά-  
 τιον ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι τῶν βαρυτέρων ἄθλων, εἰ ὁ στέ-  
 φανος ἐδίδοτο μὴ τῷ κρατίστῳ ἀλλὰ τῷ διαπραξ-  
 αμένῳ; οὐδεὶς ἂν ποτ' ἠθέλησεν ἐπασκεῖν. νῦν δ' οἱ- 180  
 μαι διὰ τὸ σπάνιον καὶ τὸ περιμάχητον καὶ τὸ καλὸν  
 καὶ τὸ αἰμίμηστον ἐκ τῆς νίκης ἐθέλουσί τινες τὰ  
 σώματα παρακαταθέμενοι καὶ τὰς μεγίστας ταλαι-  
 πωρίας ὑπομείναντες διακινδυνεύειν. ὑπολάβετε  
 τοίνυν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἀγωνοθέτας πολιτικῆς ἀρε-  
 τῆς, κακεῖνο ἐκλογίσασθε, ὅτι ἐὰν μὲν τὰς δωρεὰς  
 ὀλίγοις καὶ ἀξίοις καὶ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους διδῶτε,  
 πολλοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς ἔξετε τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἐὰν δὲ τῷ  
 βουλομένῳ καὶ τοῖς διαπραξαμένοις χαρίζησθε, καὶ  
 τὰς ἐπιεικεῖς φύσεις διαφθερεῖτε. Ὅτι δὲ ὀρθῶς 181  
 λέγω, ἔτι μικρῷ σαφέστερον ὑμᾶς βούλομαι διδάξαι.  
 πότερον ὑμῖν ἀμείνων ἀνὴρ εἶναι δοκεῖ Θεμιστοκλῆς  
 ὁ στρατηγῆσας ὅτε τῇ Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίᾳ τὸν Πέρ-  
 σην ἐνίκητε, ἢ Δημοσθένης ὁ τὴν τάξιν λιπών;  
 Μιλτιάδης δὲ ὁ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην τοὺς βαρ-  
 βάρους νικήσας, ἢ οὗτος; ἔτι δ' οἱ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεύ-  
 γοντα τὸν δῆμον καταγαγόντες; Ἀριστείδης δ' ὁ  
 δίκαιος, ὁ τὴν ἀνόμοιον ἔχων ἐπωνυμίαν Δημο-  
 σθένει; ἀλλ' ἔγωγε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς Ὀλυμπίους 182

αὐδ' ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις ἄξιον ἡγοῦμαι μεμνή-  
σθαι τοῦ θηρίου τούτου καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν.  
ἐπιδειξάτω τοίνυν Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ λόγῳ εἴ-  
που γέγραπταί τινα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων στεφανῶσαι.  
ἀχάριστος ἄρ' ἦν ὁ δῆμος; οὐκ, ἀλλὰ μεγαλόφρων,  
κἀκεῖνοί γε οἱ μὴ τετιμημένοι τῆς πόλεως ἄξιοι· οὐ  
γὰρ ὥνουντο δεῖν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι τιμᾶσθαι ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ  
μνήμῃ τῶν εὖ πεπονθόντων, ἢ ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου  
μέχρι τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας ἀθάνατος οὔσα διαμένει. δω- 80  
ρεὰς δὲ τίνας ἐλάμβανον; ὧν ἄξιόν ἐστι μνησθῆναι.

- 183 Ἡσάν τινες κατὰ τοὺς τότε καιροὺς οὐ πολὺν  
πόνον ὑπομείναντες καὶ μεγάλους κινδύνους ἐπὶ τῷ  
Στρυμόνι ποταμῷ ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι Μήδους· οὔτοι  
δεῦρο ἀφικόμενοι τὸν δῆμον ᾗτησαν δωρεάν, καὶ  
ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ δῆμος τιμὰς μεγάλας, ὡς τότε ἔδόκει,  
τρεῖς λιθίνους Ἑρμᾶς στήσαι ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ τῶν  
Ἑρμῶν, ἐφ' ᾧτε μὴ ἐπιγράφειν τὰ ὀνόματα τὰ  
ἐαυτῶν, ἵνα μὴ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀλλὰ τοῦ δήμου
- 184 δοκῇ εἶναι τὸ ἐπίγραμμα. "Οτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἐξ  
αὐτῶν τῶν ποιημάτων εἴσεσθε. ἐπιγέγραπται γὰρ  
ἐπὶ τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ τῶν Ἑρμῶν

ἦν ἄρα κἀκεῖνοι ταλακάρδιοι, οἳ ποτε Μήδων  
παισιν ἐπ' Ἡϊόνι, Στρυμόνος ἀμφὶ ῥοάς,  
λιμόν τ' αἰθωνα κρατερόν τ' ἐπάγοντες Ἄρρη  
πρῶτοι δυσμενέων εὖρον ἀμηχανίην.

ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ

ἡγεμόνεσσι δὲ μισθὸν Ἀθηναῖοι τάδ' ἔδωκαν  
ἀντ' εὐεργεσίης καὶ μεγάλης ἀρετῆς.

μᾶλλον τις τάδ' ἰδὼν καὶ ἐπεσσομένων ἐβελήσει  
ἀμφὶ ζυνοῖσι πράγμασι μόχθον ἔχειν.

ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ τρίτῳ ἐπιγέγραπται Ἑρμῇ

185

ἔκ ποτε τῆσδε πόλεως ἄμ' Ἀτρείδῃσι Μενεσθεὺς

ἠγείτο ζάθεον Τρωικὸν ἄμ πεδίον,

ὃν ποθ' Ὀμηρος ἔφη Δαναῶν πύκα χαλκοχιτώνων

κοσμητῆρα μάχης ἔξοχον ἄνδρα μολεῖν.

οὕτως οὐδὲν αἰκὲς Ἀθηναίοισι καλεῖσθαι

κοσμητὰς πολέμου τ' ἀμφὶ καὶ ἡγορέης.

ἔστι που τὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὄνομα; οὐδαμοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ δήμου.

Προσέλθετε δὴ τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ εἰς τὴν στοὰν τὴν 186  
ποικίλῃν· ἀπάντων γὰρ ὑμῖν τῶν καλῶν ἔργων τὰ  
ὑπομνήματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀνάκειται. τί οὖν ἔστιν,  
ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὃ ἐγὰ λέγω; ἐνταῦθα ἢ ἐν Μαραθῶνι,  
μίσχῃ γέγραπται. τίς οὖν ἦν ὁ στρατηγός; οὕτωςί  
μὲν ἐρωτηθέντες ἅπαντες ἀποκρίναισθε ἂν ὅτι Μιλ-  
τιάδης, ἐκεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιγέγραπται. πῶς; οὐκ ᾔτησε  
τὴν δωρεὰν ταύτην; ᾔτησεν, ἀλλ' ὁ δῆμος οὐκ ἔδω-  
κεν, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ  
πρῶτῳ γραφῆναι, παρακαλοῦντι τοὺς στρατιώτας.  
ἐν τοίνυν τῷ μητρώῳ παρὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἦν 187  
ἔδοτε δωρεὰν τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεύγοντα τὸν δῆμον  
καταγαγοῦσιν, ἔστιν ἰδεῖν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ὁ τὸ ψή-  
φισμα γράψας καὶ νικήσας Ἀρχῖνος ὁ ἐκ Κοίλης,  
εἰς τῶν καταγαγόντων τὸν δῆμον, ἔγραψε δὲ πρῶτον  
μὲν αὐτοῖς εἰς θυσίαν καὶ ἀναθήματα δοῦναι χιλίας  
δραχμάς (καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἑλαττον ἢ δέκα δραχμαὶ  
κατ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστον), ἔπειτα κελεύει στεφανοῦσθαι  
θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ αὐτῶν ἕκαστον, ἀλλ' οὐ χρυσῷ·  
τότε μὲν γὰρ ἦν ὁ τοῦ θαλλοῦ στέφανος τίμιος, νυνὶ  
δὲ καὶ ὁ χρυσοῦς καταπεφρόνηται. καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτο



εἰκῇ πράξαι κελεύει, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς τὴν βουλὴν  
 σκεψαμένην ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Φυλῇ ἐπολιορκήθησαν,  
 ὅτε Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ τριάκοντα προσέβαλλον  
 τοῖς καταλαβοῦσι Φυλὴν, οὐχ ὅσοι τὴν τάξιν ἔλιπον  
 188 ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιόντων. "Οτι δ'  
 ἀληθῇ λέγω, ἀναγνώσεται ὑμῖν τὸ ψήφισμα.

### ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΔΩΡΕΑΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΠΟ ΦΥΛΗΣ.

Παρανάγνωθι καὶ ὃ γέγραφε Κτησιφῶν Δημο-  
 σθένης τῷ τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν αἰτίῳ.

### ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Τούτῳ τῷ ψηφίσματι ἐξαλείφεται ἡ τῶν κατα- 81  
 γαγόντων τὸν δῆμον δωρεά. εἰ τοῦτ' ἔχει καλῶς,  
 ἐκείνο αἰσχυρῶς· εἰ ἐκείνοι κατ' ἀξίαν ἐτιμήθησαν,  
 οὗτος ἀνάξιος ὢν στεφανοῦται.

189 Καίτοι πυνθάνομαί γ' αὐτὸν μέλλειν λέγειν ὡς  
 οὐ δίκαια ποιῶ παραβάλλον αὐτῷ τὰ τῶν προσγόνων  
 ἔργα· οὐδὲ γὰρ Φιλάμμωνά φησι τὸν πύκτην Ὀλυμ-  
 πίασι στεφανωθῆναι νικήσαντα Γλαῦκον τὸν πα-  
 λαιὸν ἐκείνου πύκτην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀγω-  
 νιστάς, ὥσπερ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοοῦντας ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πύκταις  
 ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγὼν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τοῖς δ' ἀξιοῦσι στεφ-  
 ανοῦσθαι πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρετὴν ἧς καὶ ἔνεκα στεφ-  
 ανοῦνται. δεῖ γὰρ τὸν κήρυκα ἀψευδεῖν, ὅταν τὴν  
 ἀνάρρησιν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ποιῇται πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας.  
 μὴ οὔν ἡμῖν ὡς Παταικίωνος ἄμεινον πεπολίτευσαι  
 διεξιθι, ἀλλ' ἐφικόμενος τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας οὕτω τὰς  
 χάριτας τὸν δῆμον ἀπαίτει.

Ἴνα δὲ μὴ ἀποπλανῶ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως, 190  
ἀναγνώσεται ὑμῖν ὁ γραμματεὺς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ὃ  
ἐπιγέγραπται τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τὸν δῆμον καταγα-  
γούσιν.

## ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ.

τούςδ' ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα στεφάνοις ἐγέραιρε παλαίχθων  
δῆμος Ἀθηναίων, οἳ ποτε τοὺς ἀδίκους  
θεσμοῖς ἄρξαντας πρῶτοι πόλεως καταπαύειν  
ἤρξαν, κίνδυνον σώμασιν ἀράμενοι.

Ὅτι τοὺς παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἄρξαντας κατέλυσαν, 191  
διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς φησιν ὁ ποιητὴς τιμηθῆναι· ἔναυ-  
λον γὰρ ἦν ἔτι τότε πᾶσιν ὅτι τηνικαῦτα ὁ δῆμος  
κατελύθη, ἐπειδὴ τινες τὰς γραφὰς τῶν παρανόμων  
ἀνεῖλον. καὶ γάρ τοι, ὡς ἐγὼ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἔμαν-  
τοῦ ἐπυνθανόμην, ὅς ἔτη βιούς ἐνειήκοντα καὶ πέντε  
ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀπάντων μετασχὼν τῶν πόνων τῇ  
πόλει, οὓς πολλάκις πρὸς ἐμὲ διεξήκει ἐπὶ σχολῆς·  
ἔφη γάρ, ὅτε ἀρτίως κατεληλύθει ὁ δῆμος, εἴ τις  
εἰσίοι γραφὴν παρανόμων εἰς δικαστήριον, εἶναι  
ὅμοιον τὸ ἔνομα καὶ τὸ ἔργον. τί γάρ ἐστιν ἀνο-  
σιώτερον ἀνδρὸς παράνομα λέγοντος καὶ πράττον-  
τος; καὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν, ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἀπήγγελλεν, οὐ 192  
τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐποιοῦντο ὥσπερ νῦν γίγνεται, ἀλλ'  
ἦσαν πολὺ χαλεπώτεροι οἱ δικασταὶ τοῖς τὰ παρά-  
νομα γράφουσιν αὐτοῦ τοῦ κατηγοροῦ, καὶ πολλάκις  
ἀνεπὸδιζον τὸν γραμματέα καὶ ἐκέλευον πάλιν ἀνα-  
γιγνώσκειν τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα, καὶ ἡλίσ-  
κοντο οἱ παράνομα γράφοντες οὐκ εἰ πάντας παρα-  
πηδήσαιεν τοὺς νόμους, ἀλλ' εἰ μίαν μόνον συλλα-

- βῆν παραλλάξαιεν. τὸ δὲ νυνὶ γιγνόμενον πρᾶγμα ὑπερκαταγέλαστόν ἐστιν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ γραμματεὺς ἀναγιγνώσκει τὸ παράνομον, οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ ὥσπερ ἐπῳδὴν ἢ ἀλλότριόν τι πρᾶγμα ἀκροώμενοι πρὸς
- 193 ἐτέρῳ τινὶ τὴν γνώμην ἔχουσιν. ἤδη δ' ἐκ τῶν τεχνῶν τῶν Δημοσθένους αἰσχροὺς ἔθος ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις παραδέχεσθε. μετενήνεκται γὰρ ὑμῖν τὰ τῆς πόλεως δίκαια· ὁ μὲν γὰρ κατήγορος ἀπολογεῖται, ὁ δὲ φεύγων τὴν γραφὴν κατηγορεῖ, οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ ἐνίοτε ὧν μὲν εἰσι κριταὶ ἐπιλανθάνονται, ὧν δ' οὐκ εἰσὶ δικασταί, περὶ τούτων ἀναγκάζονται τὴν ψῆφον φέρειν. λέγει δὲ ὁ φεύγων, ἂν ἄρα ποθ' ἄψηται τοῦ πράγματος, οὐχ ὥς ἔννομα γέγραφεν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ πρότερον ἕτερος τοιαῦτα γράψας ἀπέφυγεν·
- 194 ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ νυνὶ μέγα φρονεῖν ἀκούω Κτησιφῶντα. ἐτόλμα δ' ἐν ὑμῖν ποτε σεμνύνεσθαι Ἀριστοφῶν ἐκεῖνος ὁ Ἀζηνιεύς λέγων ὅτι γραφὰς παρανόμων πέφευγεν ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε. ἀλλ' οὐχὶ ὁ Κέφαλος ὁ παλαιὸς ἐκεῖνος, ὁ δοκῶν δημοτικώτατος γεγονέναι, οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο, λέγων ὅτι πλεῖστα πάντων γεγραφὼς ψηφίσματα οὐδεμίαν πώποτε γραφὴν πέφευγε παρανόμων, καλῶς (οἶμαι) σεμνυνόμενος. ἐγράφοντο γὰρ ἀλλήλους παρανόμων οὐ μόνον οἱ διαπολιτευόμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ φίλοι τοὺς φίλους, εἴ 82
- 195 τι ἐξαμαρτάνοιεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τοῦτο γνώσεσθε. Ἀρχίνος γὰρ ὁ ἐκ Κοίλης ἐγράψατο παρανόμων Θρασύβουλον τὸν Στειριᾶ, ἓνα τῶν συγκατελθόντων αὐτῷ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς, καὶ εἶλε νεωστὶ γεγενημένων αὐτῷ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, ἃς οὐχ



ὑπελογίσαντο οἱ δικασταί· ἡγοῦντο γάρ, ὥσπερ τότε  
 αὐτοὺς φεύγοντας ἀπὸ Φυλῆς Θρασύβουλος κατή-  
 γαγεν, οὕτω νῦν μένοντας ἐξελαύνειν παρὰ τοὺς νό-  
 μους γράφοντά τι. ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τοῦναν- 196  
 τίον γίγνεται· οἱ γὰρ ἀγαθοὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ τῶν τὰς  
 σιτήσεις τινὲς εὐρημένων ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ ἐξαιτοῦν-  
 ται τὰς γραφὰς τῶν παρανόμων, οὓς ὑμεῖς ἀχαρίσ-  
 τους εἶναι δικαίως ἂν ὑπολαμβάνοιτε· εἰ γάρ τις ἐν  
 δημοκρατίᾳ τετιμημένος, ἐν τοιαύτῃ πολιτείᾳ ἣν οἱ  
 θεοὶ καὶ οἱ νόμοι σώζουσιν, τολμᾷ βοηθεῖν τοῖς παρά-  
 νομα γράφουσι, καταλύει τὴν πολιτείαν ὑφ' ἧς τετί-  
 μηται. τίς οὖν ἀποδέδεικται λόγος ἀνδρὶ συνηγόρῳ 197  
 δικαίῳ καὶ σώφρονι; ἐγὼ λέξω. εἰς τρία μέρη διαι-  
 ρεῖται ἡ ἡμέρα, ὅταν εἰσὶν γραφὴ παρανόμων εἰς τὸ  
 δικαστήριον. ἐγχεῖται γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὕδωρ τῷ  
 κατηγόρῳ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ, τὸ δὲ  
 δεύτερον ὕδωρ τῷ τὴν γραφὴν φεύγοντι καὶ τοῖς εἰς  
 αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα λέγουσιν· ἐπειδὴν δὲ τῇ πρώτῃ  
 ψήφῳ μὴ λυθῇ τὸ παράνομον, ἤδη τὸ τρίτον ὕδωρ  
 ἐγχεῖται τῇ τιμῇ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ὀργῆς τῆς  
 ὑμετέρας· ὅστις μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ τιμῇ τὴν ψῆφον 198  
 αἰτεῖ, τὴν ὀργὴν τὴν ὑμετέραν παραιτεῖται· ὅστις δ'  
 ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ τὴν ψῆφον αἰτεῖ, ὅρκον αἰτεῖ,  
 νόμον αἰτεῖ, δημοκρατίαν αἰτεῖ, ὧν οὔτε αἰτῆσαι  
 οὐδὲν ὅσιον οὐδενὶ οὐτ' αἰτηθέντα ἑτέρῳ δοῦναι.  
 κελεύσατε οὖν αὐτοὺς, ἐάσαντας ὑμᾶς τὴν πρώτην  
 ψῆφον κατὰ τοὺς νόμους διενεγκεῖν, ἀπαντᾶν εἰς τὴν  
 τίμησιν. ὅλως δ' ἔγωγε, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὀλίγου δέω 199  
 εἰπεῖν ὥς καὶ νόμον δεῖ τεθῆναι ἐπὶ ταῖς γραφαῖς  
 μόνον τῶν παρανόμων, μὴ ἐξεῖναι μήτε τῷ κατηγόρῳ

συνηγόρους παρασχέσθαι μήτε τῷ τὴν γραφὴν τῶν  
 παρανόμων φεύγοντι. οὐ γὰρ ἄοριστόν ἐστι τὸ  
 δίκαιον, ἀλλ' ὠρισμένον τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ὑμετέροις.  
 ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῇ τεκτονικῇ, ὅταν εἰδέναι βουλώμεθα  
 τὸ ὀρθὸν καὶ τὸ μή, τὸν κανόνα προσφέρομεν ᾧ δια-  
 200 γιγνώσκεται, οὕτω καὶ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς τῶν παρα-  
 νόμων παράκειται κανὼν τοῦ δικαίου τουτὶ τὸ σανί-  
 διον, τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ οἱ παραγεγραμμένοι νόμοι.  
 ταῦτα συμφωνοῦντα ἀλλήλοις ἐπιδείξας κατάβαινε  
 καὶ τί δεῖ σε Δημοσθένην παρακαλεῖν; ὅταν δ'  
 ὑπερπηδήσας τὴν δικαίαν ἀπολογίαν παρακαλῇς  
 κακοῦργον ἄνθρωπον καὶ τεχνίτην λόγων, κλέπτεις  
 τὴν ἀκρόασιν, βλάπτεις τὴν πόλιν, καταλύεις τὴν  
 δημοκρατίαν.

201 Τίς οὖν ἐστὶν ἀποτροπὴ τῶν τοιούτων λόγων;  
 ἐγὼ ἐρῶ. ἐπειδὰν προσελθὼν ἐνταυθοῖ Κτησιφῶν  
 διεξέλθῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοῦτο δὴ τὸ συντεταγμένον αὐτῷ  
 προοίμιον, ἔπειτ' ἐνδιατρίβῃ καὶ μὴ ἀπολογῇται,  
 ὑπομνήσατ' αὐτὸν ἄνευ θορύβου τὸ σανίδιον λαβεῖν  
 καὶ τοὺς νόμους τῷ ψηφίσματι παραναγνῶναι. εἰ  
 δὲ μὴ προσποιῇται ὑμῶν ἀκοῦειν, μηδὲ ὑμεῖς ἐκεί-  
 νου ἐθέλετε ἀκοῦειν· οὐ γὰρ τῶν φευγόντων τὰς δι-  
 καίας ἀπολογίας εἰσεληλύθατε ἀκροασόμενοι, ἀλλὰ  
 202 τῶν ἐθελόντων δικαίως ἀπολογεῖσθαι. εἰ δ' ὑπερ-  
 πεδήσας τὴν δικαίαν ἀπολογίαν Δημοσθένην παρα-  
 καλῇ, μάλιστα μὲν μὴ προσδέχεσθε κακοῦργον ἄν-  
 θρωπον, οἰόμενον ῥήμασι τοὺς νόμους ἀναιρήσειν,  
 μηδ' ἐν ἀρετῇ τοῦθ' ὑμῶν μηδεὶς καταλογιζέσθω, ὃς  
 ἂν ἐπανερομένου Κτησιφῶντος “εἰ καλέσῃ Δημο-  
 σθένην;” πρῶτος ἀναβοήσῃ “κάλει, κάλει.” ἐπὶ

σαυτὸν καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τὴν δημο-  
 κρατίαν καλεῖς. ἂν δ' ἄρα ὑμῖν δόξη ἀκούειν, ἀξιῶσατε  
 τὸν Δημοσθένην τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἀπολογεῖσθαι  
 ὅνπερ καὶ γὰρ κατηγόρηκα. ἐγὼ δὲ πῶς κατηγόρηκα; 203  
 ἵνα καὶ ὑπομνήσω ὑμᾶς. οὔτε τὸν ἴδιον βίον τὸν  
 83 Δημοσθένους πρότερον διεξῆλθον οὔτε τῶν δημοσίων  
 ἀδικημάτων οὐδενὸς πρότερον ἐμνήσθην, ἄφθονα δὴ-  
 που καὶ πολλὰ ἔχων λέγειν· ἢ πάντων γ' ἂν εἶην  
 ἀπορώτατος· ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς νόμους ἐπέδειξα  
 ἀπαγορεύοντας μὴ στεφανοῦν τοὺς ὑπευθύνους, ἔπειτα  
 τὸν ῥήτορα ἐξήλεξα γράψαντα Δημοσθένην ὑπεύ-  
 θυνον ὄντα στεφανοῦν οὐδὲν προβαλλόμενον, οὐδὲ  
 προσεγγράψαντα “ἐπειδὴν δῶ τὰς εὐθύνας,” ἀλλὰ  
 παντελῶς καὶ ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν νόμων καταπεφρονηκότα·  
 καὶ τὰς ἐσομένας πρὸς ταῦτα προφάσεις εἶπον, ὥς  
 ἀξιῶ καὶ ὑμᾶς διαμνημονεύειν. δεύτερον δ' ὑμῖν διεξ-  
 ῆλθον τοὺς περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων νόμους, ἐν οἷς 204  
 διαρρήδην ἀπείρηται τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανού-  
 μενον μὴ κηρύττεσθαι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας· ὁ δὲ ῥήτωρ  
 ὁ φεύγων τὴν γραφὴν οὐ τοὺς νόμους μόνον παρα-  
 βέβηκεν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀναρρήσεως καὶ  
 τὸν τόπον, κελεύων οὐκ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ  
 θεάτρῳ τὴν ἀνάρρησιν γίγνεσθαι, οὐδ' ἐκκλησιαζόν-  
 των Ἀθηναίων ἀλλὰ μελλόντων τραγωδῶν εἰσιέναι.  
 ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν μικρὰ μὲν περὶ τῶν ἰδίων εἶπον, τὰ  
 δὲ πλεῖστα περὶ τῶν δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων. οὕτω 205  
 δὴ καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην ἀξιῶσατε ἀπολογεῖσθαι πρὸς  
 τὸν τῶν ὑπευθύνων νόμον πρῶτον καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν  
 κηρυγμάτων δεύτερον, τρίτον δὲ τὸ μέγιστον λέγω,  
 ὥς οὐδὲ ἄξιός ἐστι τῆς δωρεᾶς. εἰ δ' ὑμῶν δέηται



συγχωρήσαι αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς τάξεως τοῦ λόγου, κατ-  
 επαγγελόμενος ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τῆς ἀπολογίας  
 λύσει τὸ παράνομον, μὴ συγχωρεῖτε, μηδ' ἀγνοεῖθ'  
 ὅτι πάλαισμα τοῦτ' ἐστὶ δικαστηρίου· οὐ γὰρ εἰσαυθίς  
 ποτε βούλεται πρὸς τὸ παράνομον ἀπολογεῖσθαι,  
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἔχων δίκαιον εἰπεῖν ἐτέρων παρεμβολῇ  
 πραγμάτων εἰς λήθην ὑμᾶς βούλεται τῆς κατηγορίας  
 206 ἐμβαλεῖν. ὥσπερ οὖν ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ὁρᾶτε  
 τοὺς πύκτας περὶ τῆς στάσεως ἀλλήλοις διαγωνιζο-  
 μένους, οὔτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ὕλην τὴν ἡμέραν ὑπὲρ τῆς  
 πόλεως περὶ τῆς τάξεως αὐτῷ τοῦ λόγου μάχεσθε,  
 καὶ μὴ ἑάτε αὐτὸν ἔξω τοῦ παρανόμου περιστάσθαι,  
 ἀλλ' ἐγκαθήμενοι καὶ ἐνεδρεύοντες ἐν τῇ ἀκροάσει  
 εἰσελαύνετε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς τοῦ πράγματος λόγους,  
 207 καὶ τὰς ἐκτροπὰς αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων ἐπιτηρεῖτε. ἀλλ'  
 ἂν δὴ συμβήσεται ὑμῖν, ἐὰν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τὴν  
 ἀκρόασιν ποιήσθε, ταῦθ' ὑμῖν ἤδη δίκαιός εἰμι προ-  
 ειπεῖν. ἐπεισάξει γὰρ τὸν γόητα καὶ βαλαντιοτόμον  
 καὶ διατετμηκότα τὴν πολιτείαν. οὗτος κλαίει μὲν  
 ῥᾶον ἢ ἄλλοι γελῶσιν, ἐπιорκεῖ δὲ πάντων προχειρό-  
 τατα· οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσαιμι δὲ εἰ μεταβαλλόμενος τοῖς  
 ἔξω περιεστηκόσι λαιδορήσεται, φάσκων τοὺς μὲν  
 ὀλιγαρχικούς ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας διηριθμημένους  
 ἦκειν πρὸς τὸ τοῦ κατηγοροῦ βῆμα, τοὺς δὲ δημο-  
 208 τικούς πρὸς τὸ τοῦ φεύγοντος· ὅταν δὴ ταῦτα λέγῃ,  
 πρὸς μὲν τοὺς στασιαστικούς λόγους ἐκείνο αὐτῷ  
 ὑποβάλλετε “ὦ Δημόσθενες, εἰ σοὶ ἦσαν ὅμοιοι οἱ  
 ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεύγοντα τὸν δῆμον καταγαγόντες, οὐκ  
 ἂν ποθ' ἡ δημοκρατία κατέστη. νῦν δὲ ἐκείνοι μὲν  
 μεγάλων κακῶν συμβάντων ἔσωσαν τὴν πόλιν τὸ

κάλλιστον ἐκ παιδείας ῥῆμα φθεγξάμενοι, μὴ μνησι-  
 κακεῖν· σὺ δὲ ἐλκοποιεῖς, καὶ μᾶλλον σοι μέλει τῶν  
 αὐθιμερὸν λόγων ἢ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως.” ὅταν  
 δ’ ἐπίορκος ὢν εἰς τὴν διὰ τῶν ὅρκων πίστιν κατα-  
 φυγγάνῃ, ἐκεῖνο ἀπομνημονεύσατε αὐτῷ, ὅτι τῷ  
 πολλάκις μὲν ἐπίορκοῦντι αἰεὶ δὲ [πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς]  
 μεθ’ ὅρκων ἀξιοῦντι πιστεῦεσθαι δυοῖν θάτερον  
 ὑπάρξαι δεῖ, ὢν οὐδέτερόν ἐστι Δημοσθένει ὑπάρχον,  
 ἢ τοὺς θεοὺς καινοὺς ἢ τοὺς ἀκροατὰς μὴ τοὺς αὐτοὺς.  
 περὶ δὲ τῶν δακρύων καὶ τοῦ τόνου τῆς φωνῆς, ὅταν 209  
 ὑμᾶς ἐπερωτᾷ “ποῖ φύγω, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; περι-  
 γράψατέ με ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας· οὐκ ἔστιν ὅποι ἀνα-  
 84 πτήσομαι,” ἀνθυποβάλλετε αὐτῷ “ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθη-  
 ναίων ποῖ καταφύγη, Δημόσθενες; πρὸς ποίαν συμ-  
 μάχων παρασκευήν; πρὸς ποῖα χρήματα; τί προ-  
 βαλλόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου πεπολίτευσαι; ἃ μὲν  
 γὰρ ὑπὲρ σεαυτοῦ βεβούλευσαι, ἅπαντες ὁρῶμεν·  
 ἐκλιπὼν μὲν τὸ ἄστυ οὐκ οἰκεῖς, ὡς δοκεῖς, ἐν Πει-  
 ραιεῖ, ἀλλ’ ἐξορμεῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἐφόδια δὲ πε-  
 πόρισαι τῇ σαυτοῦ ἀνανδρίᾳ τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον  
 καὶ τὰ δημόσια δωροδοκήματα.” ὅλως δὲ τί τὰ δά- 210  
 κρυα; τίς ἡ κραυγή; τίς ὁ τόνος τῆς φωνῆς; οὐχ ὁ  
 μὲν τὴν γραφὴν φεύγων ἐστὶ Κτησιφῶν, [ὁ δ’ ἀγὼν  
 οὐκ ἀτίμητος] σὺ δ’ οὔτε περὶ τῆς οὐσίας οὔτε περὶ  
 τοῦ σώματος οὔτε περὶ τῆς ἐπιτιμίας ἀγωνίζῃ; ἀλλὰ  
 περὶ τίνος ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ἡ σπουδὴ; περὶ χρυσῶν στε-  
 φάνων καὶ κηρυγμάτων ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ παρὰ τοὺς  
 νόμους· ὃν ἐχρῆν, εἰ καὶ μανεῖς ὁ δῆμος ἢ τῶν καθε- 211  
 στηκότων ἐπιλελησμένος ἐπὶ τοιαύτης ἀκαιρίας ἐβού-  
 λετο στεφανοῦν αὐτόν, παρελθόντα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλη-

- σίαν εἰπεῖν “ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν μὲν στέφανον δέχομαι, τὸν δὲ καιρὸν ἀποδοκιμάζω ἐν ᾧ τὸ κήρυγμα γίγνεται· οὐ γὰρ δεῖ ἐφ’ οἷς ἡ πόλις ἐπένθησε καὶ ἐκείρατο, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐμὲ στεφανοῦσθαι.” ἀλλ’ οἶμαι, ταῦτα μὲν ἂν εἴποι ἀνὴρ ὄντως βεβιωκὼς μετ’ ἀρετῆς· ἃ δὲ σὺ λέξεις, εἴποι ἂν κάθαρμα ζηλοτυ-
- 212 ποῦν ἀρετῇ. οὐ γὰρ δὴ μὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τοῦτό γε ὑμῶν οὐδεὶς φοβήσεται, μὴ ὁ Δημοσθένης, ἀνὴρ μεγαλόψυχος καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ διαφέρων, ἀποτυχῶν τῶν ἀριστείων οἵκαδε ἐπανελθὼν ἑαυτὸν διαχρήσεται· ὅς τοσοῦτον καταγελαῖ τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς φιλοτιμίας, ὥστε τὴν μιარὰν κεφαλὴν ταύτην καὶ ὑπεύθυνον, ἣν οὗτος παρὰ τοὺς νόμους γέγραφε στεφανῶσαι, μυριάκις κατατέτμηκε καὶ τούτων μισθοὺς εἴληφε τραύματος ἐκ προνοίας γραφὰς γραφόμενος, καὶ κατακεκονδύλισται, ὥστε αὐτὸν οἶμαι τὰ τῶν κονδύλων ἵχνη τῶν Μειδίου ἔχειν ἔτι φανερά· ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος οὐ κεφαλὴν ἀλλὰ πρόσοδον κέκτηται.
- 213 Περὶ δὲ Κτησιφῶντος τοῦ γράψαντος τὴν γνώμην βραχέα βούλομαι εἰπεῖν, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ ὑπερβήσομαι, ἵνα καὶ πείραν λάβω, εἰ δύνασθε τοὺς σφόδρα πονηροὺς, καὶ μὴ τις προεῖπῃ, διαγιγνώσκειν. ὃ δ’ ἐστὶ κοινὸν καὶ δίκαιον κατ’ ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἀπαγγεῖλαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τοῦτ’ ἐρῶ. περιέρχονται γὰρ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀληθεῖς κατ’ ἀλλήλων ἔχοντες δόξας
- 214 καὶ λόγους οἱ ψευδεῖς λέγοντες. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Κτησιφῶν οὐ τὸ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν φησι φοβεῖσθαι (ἐλπίζειν γὰρ δόξειν ἰδιώτης εἶναι), ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ δωροδοκίαν φησὶ φοβεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐμπληξίαν καὶ δειλίαν· ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης εἰς αὐτὸν



μὲν ὑποβλέπων θαρρεῖν φησιν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ Κτησι-  
φώντος ποινηρίαν καὶ πορνοβοσκίαν ἰσχυρῶς δε-  
διέναι. τοὺς δὲ δὴ κατεγνωκότας ἀλλήλων ἀδικεῖν  
μηδαμῶς ὑμεῖς οἱ κοινοὶ κριταὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων  
ἀπολύσητε.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν εἰς ἑμαυτὸν λοιδοριῶν βραχέα βού- 215  
λομαι προειπεῖν. πυνθάνομαι γὰρ λέξειν Δημοσθέ-  
νην ὡς ἡ πόλις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μὲν ὠφέληται πολλά, ὑπ'  
ἐμοῦ δὲ καταβέβλαπται, καὶ τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ τὸν  
Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τούτων αἰτίας ἀνοίσειν ἐπ'  
ἐμέ· οὕτω γάρ ἐστιν, ὥς ἔοικε, δεινὸς δημιουργὸς  
λόγων, ὥστε οὐκ ἀπόχρη αὐτῷ, εἴ τι πεπολίτευμαι  
παρ' ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ἢ εἴ τινας δημηγορίας εἴρηκα, τούτων  
κατηγορεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν μου τοῦ βίου δια- 216  
βάλλει καὶ τῆς σιωπῆς μου κατηγορεῖ, ἵνα μηδεὶς  
αὐτῷ τόπος ἀσυκοφάντητος παραλείπηται, καὶ τὰς ἐν  
τοῖς γυμνασίοις μετὰ τῶν νεωτέρων μου διατριβὰς  
καταμέμφεται, καὶ κατὰ τῆσδε τῆς κρίσεως εὐθὺς  
ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου φέρει τινὰ αἰτίαν, λέγων ὡς  
ἐγὼ τὴν γραφὴν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐγραψάμην  
ἀλλ' ἐνδεικνύμενος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν  
ἔχθραν. καὶ νῆ Δί', ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, μέλλει με 217  
ἀνερωτᾶν διὰ τί τὸ μὲν κεφάλαιον τῆς πολιτείας  
85 αὐτοῦ ψέγω, τὰ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον οὐκ ἐκώλουν οὐδ'  
ἐγραφόμην, ἀλλὰ διαλιπὼν καὶ πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν  
οὐ πυκνὰ προσιὼν ἀπήνεγκα τὴν γραφὴν. ἐγὼ δὲ  
οὔτε τὰς Δημοσθένους διατριβὰς ἐζήλωκα, οὔτ' ἐπὶ  
ταῖς ἑμαυτοῦ αἰσχύνομαι, οὔτε τοὺς εἰρημένους ἐν  
ὑμῖν λόγους ἑμαυτῷ ἀρρήτους εἶναι βουλοίμην, οὔτε  
τὰ αὐτὰ τούτῳ δημηγορήσας ἐδεξάμην ἂν ζῆν. τὴν 218

- δ' ἐμὴν σιωπὴν, ὦ Δημόσθενες, ἢ τοῦ βίου μετριότης  
 παρεσκεύασεν· ἀρκεῖ γάρ μοι μικρὰ καὶ μειζόνων  
 αἰσχυρῶς οὐκ ἐπιθυμῶ, ὥστε καὶ σιγῶ καὶ λέγω βου-  
 λενσάμενος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ  
 φύσει δαπάνης. σὺ δ' οἶμαι λαβὼν μὲν σεσίγηκας,  
 ἀναλώσας δὲ κέκραγας. λέγεις δὲ οὐχ ὁπόταν σοὶ  
 δοκῇ οὐδ' ἂ βούλει, ἀλλ' ὁπόταν οἱ μισθοδόται σοι  
 προστάττωσιν· οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ δὲ ἀλαζονευόμενος ἂ
- 219 παραχρῆμα ἐξελέγχῃ ψευδόμενος. ἀπηνέχθη γὰρ ἢ  
 κατὰ τοῦδε τοῦ ψηφίσματος γραφή, ἣν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς  
 πόλεως ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐνδείξεώς με  
 φῆς ἀπενεγκεῖν, ἔτι Φιλίππου ζῶντος, πρὶν Ἀλέξαν-  
 δρον εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστήναι, οὐπω σοῦ τὸ περὶ  
 Πausανίαν ἐνύπνιον ἐωρακότος οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἀθη-  
 νᾶν καὶ τὴν Ἡραν νύκτωρ διειλεγμένου. πῶς ἂν οὖν
- 220 ἐγὼ προενεδεικνύμην Ἀλεξάνδρῳ; εἴ γε μὴ ταῦτό  
 ἐνύπνιον ἐγὼ καὶ Δημοσθένους εἶδομεν. ἐπιτιμᾶς δέ  
 μοι εἰ μὴ συνεχῶς ἀλλὰ διαλείπων πρὸς τὸν δῆμον  
 προσέρχομαι, καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν ταύτην οἷοι λανθά-  
 νειν μεταφέρων οὐκ ἐκ δημοκρατίας ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐτέρας  
 πολιτείας. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις οὐχ ὁ βου-  
 λόμενος ἀλλ' ὁ δυναστεύων δημηγορεῖ, ἐν δὲ ταῖς δη-  
 μοκρατίαις ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ ὅταν αὐτῷ δοκῇ. καὶ
- 221 τὸ μὲν διὰ χρόνου λέγειν σημεῖον ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῶν και-  
 ρῶν καὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἀνδρὸς πολιτευομένου, τὸ  
 δὲ μηδεμίαν παραλείπειν ἡμέραν ἐργαζομένου καὶ
- 221 μισθαρνοῦντος. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ μηδέπω κεκρίσθαι ὑπ'  
 ἐμοῦ μηδὲ τῶν ἀδικημάτων τιμωρίαν ὑποσχεῖν, ὅταν  
 καταφεύγῃς ἐπὶ τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους, ἢ τοῖς ἀκούον-  
 τας ἐπιλήσμονας ὑπολαμβάνεις ἢ σαυτὸν παραλο-

γίξει. τὰ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας ἡσεβημένα  
 σοι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Εὐβοίαν δωροδοκηθέντα, χρόνων  
 ἐγγεγεννημένων ἐν οἷς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ φανερώς ἐξηλέγχου,  
 ἴσως ἐλπίζεις τὸν δῆμον ἀμνημονεῖν· τὰ δὲ περὶ τὰς 222  
 τριήρεις καὶ τοὺς τριηράρχους ἀρπάγματα τίς ἂν  
 ἀποκρίψαι χρόνος δύναιτ' ἂν, ὅτε νομοθετήσας περὶ  
 τῶν τριακοσίων, καὶ σαυτὸν πείσας Ἀθηναίους ἐπι-  
 στάτην τάξαι τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, ἐξηλέγχθης ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐξ-  
 ἡκοντα καὶ πέντε νεῶν ταχυναυτουσῶν τριηράρχους  
 ὑφηρημένος, πλεον τῆς πόλεως ἀφανίζων ναυτικὸν  
 ἢ ὅτε Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἐν Νάξῳ ναυμαχίαν Λακεδαιμο-  
 νίους καὶ Πόλλιν ἐνίκησαν; οὕτω δὲ ταῖς αἰτίαις ἐνέ- 223  
 φραξας τὰς κατὰ σαυτοῦ τιμωρίας, ὥστε τὸν κίνδυ-  
 νον εἶναι μὴ σοὶ τῷ ἀδικήσαντι ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐπεξιούσι,  
 πολὺν μὲν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Φίλιππον ἐν ταῖς δια-  
 βολαῖς φέρων, αἰτιώμενος δέ τινας ἐμποδίζειν τοὺς  
 τῆς πόλεως καιρούς, αἰεὶ τὸ παρὸν λυμαινόμενος, τὸ  
 δὲ μέλλον κατεπαγγελλόμενος. οὐ τὸ τελευταῖον  
 εἰσαγγέλλεσθαι μέλλων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, τὴν Ἀναξίνου  
 σύλληψιν τοῦ Ὠρείτου κατασκευάσας, τοῦ τὰ ἀγο-  
 ράσματα Ὀλυμπιάδι ἀγοράζοντος, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν 224  
 ἄνδρα δις στρεβλώσας τῇ σαυτοῦ χειρὶ ἔγραψας  
 αὐτὸν θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι; καὶ παρὰ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐν Ὠρεῷ  
 κατήγου, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς τραπέζης ἔφαγες καὶ  
 ἔπιες καὶ ἔσπειςας, καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐνέβαλες ἄνδρα  
 φίλον καὶ ξένον ποιούμενος· καὶ τοῦτον ἀπέκτεινας,  
 καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐν ἅπασιν Ἀθηναίοις ἐξελεγχθεὶς  
 ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ κληθεὶς ξενοκτόνος οὐ τὸ ἀσέβημα ἡρ-  
 νήσω, ἀλλ' ἀπεκρίνου ἐφ' ᾧ ἀνεβόησεν ὁ δῆμος καὶ  
 ὅσοι ξένοι περιέστασαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· ἔφησθα γὰρ



- τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἄλλας περὶ πλείονος ποιήσασθαι  
 225 τῆς ξενικῆς τραπέζης. ἐπιστολὰς δὲ σιγῶ ψευδεῖς  
 καὶ κατασκόπων συλλήψεις καὶ βασάνους ἐπ' αἰ-  
 τίαις ἀγενήτοις, ὡς ἐμοῦ μετὰ τινων ἐν τῇ πόλει  
 νεωτερίζειν βουλομένου. ἔπειτα ἐπερωτᾶν με, ὡς  
 ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, μέλλει, τίς ἂν εἴη τοιοῦτος ἰατρὸς  
 ὅστις τῷ νοσοῦντι μεταξὺ μὲν ἀσθενοῦντι μηδὲν  
 συμβουλευοί, τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὰ  
 226 ἔνατα διεξίοι πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἂ ἐπιτηδεύσας ὑγιῆς  
 ἂν ἐγένετο. σαυτὸν δ' οὐκ ἀντερωτᾷς, τίς ἂν εἴη  
 δημαγωγὸς τοιοῦτος ὅστις τὸν μὲν δῆμον θωπεῦσαι  
 δύναιτο, τοὺς δὲ καιροὺς ἐν οἷς ἦν σώζεσθαι τὴν  
 πόλιν ἀποδοίτο, τοὺς δ' εὖ φρονούντας κωλύοι δια-  
 βάλλων συμβουλεύειν, ἀποδράς δ' ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων  
 καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνηκέστοις κακοῖς περιβαλὼν ἀξιοῖ  
 στεφανοῦσθαι ἐπ' ἀρετῇ, ἀγαθὸν μὲν πεποιηκὼς  
 μηδέν, πάντων δὲ τῶν κακῶν αἴτιος γεγονώς, ἐπ-  
 ερωτῶν δὲ τοὺς συκοφαντηθέντας ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας  
 ἐπ' ἐκείνων τῶν καιρῶν ὅτ' ἐνῆν σώζεσθαι, διὰ τί  
 227 αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐκώλυσαν ἐξαμαρτάνειν, ἀποκρύπτοιο δὲ  
 τὸ πάντων τελευταῖον, ὅτι τῆς μάχης ἐπιγενομένης  
 οὐκ ἐσχολάζομεν περὶ τὴν σὴν εἶναι τιμωρίαν, ἀλλ'  
 ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως ἐπρεσβεύομεν ἐπειδὴ  
 δὲ οὐκ ἀπέχρη σοι δίκην μὴ δεδωκέναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 δωρεὰς αἰτεῖς καταγέλαστος ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι τὴν  
 πόλιν ποιῶν, ἐνταῦθ' ἐνέστην καὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἀπ-  
 ῆνεγκα.  
 228 Καὶ νῦν τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς Ὀλυμπίους, ὧν ἐγὼ πυν-  
 θάνομαι Δημοσθένην λέγειν, ἐφ' ᾧ νυνὶ μέλλω λέγειν  
 ἀγανακτῶ μάλιστα. ἀφομοιοῖ γάρ μου τὴν φύσιν

ταῖς Σειρήσιν, ὡς ἔοικε. καὶ γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνων οὐ  
 κηλεῖσθαι φησι τοὺς ἀκρωμένους ἀλλ' ἀπόλλυσθαι,  
 διόπερ οὐδ' εὐδοκίμειν τὴν τῶν Σειρήνων μουσι-  
 κήν· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν τῶν λόγων ἐμπειρίαν καὶ τὴν  
 φύσιν μου γεγενῆσθαι ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τῶν ἀκούντων.  
 καίτοι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ὅλως μὲν ἔγωγε οὐδενὶ πρέ-  
 πειν ἡγοῦμαι περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγειν· τῆς γὰρ αἰτίας αἰ-  
 σχρὸν τὸν αἰτιώμενόν ἐστι τὸ ἔργον μὴ ἔχειν ἐπιδεί-  
 ξαι. εἰ δ' ἦν ἀναγκαῖον ῥηθῆναι, οὐ Δημοσθένους 229  
 ἦν ὁ λόγος, ἀλλ' ἀνδρὸς στρατηγοῦ μεγάλα μὲν τῇ  
 πόλει κατειργασμένου, λέγειν δὲ ἀδυνάτου καὶ τὴν  
 τῶν ἀντιδίκων διὰ τοῦτο ἐξηλωκότος φύσιν, ὅτι σύν-  
 οιδεν ἑαυτῷ μὲν οὐδὲν ὦν διαπέπρακται δυναμένῳ  
 φράσαι, τὸν δὲ κατήγορον ὁρᾷ δυνάμενον καὶ τὰ μὴ  
 πεπραγμένα ὑφ' αὐτοῦ παριστάναι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν  
 ὡς διώκηκεν. ὅταν δ' ἐξ ὀνομάτων συγκεῖμενος ἄν-  
 θρωπος, καὶ τούτων πικρῶν καὶ περιέργων, ἔπειτα  
 ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπλότητα καὶ τὰ ἔργα καταφεύγῃ, τίς ἂν  
 ἀνάσχοιτο; οὗ τὴν γλῶτταν ὥσπερ τῶν αὐλῶν ἑάν  
 τις ἀφέλῃ, τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδὲν ἐστιν.

Θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε ὑμῶν, ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ζητῶ 230  
 πρὸς τί ἂν ἀποβλέποντες ἀποψηφίσαισθε τὴν γρα-  
 φήν. πότερον ὡς τὸ ψήφισμά ἐστιν ἔννομον; ἀλλ'  
 οὐδεμία πώποτε γνώμη παρανομωτέρα γεγένηται.  
 ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ τὸ ψήφισμα γράψας οὐκ ἐπιτήδειός ἐστι  
 δίκην δοῦναι; οὐκ ἄρ' εἰσὶ παρ' ὑμῖν εὐθυναὶ βίου,  
 εἰ τοῦτον ἀφήσετε. ἐκείνο δ' οὐ λυπηρόν, εἰ πρότε-  
 ρον μὲν ἐνεπὶμπλατο ἡ ὀρχήστρα χρυσῶν στεφάνων  
 οἷς ὁ δῆμος ἐστεφανοῦτο ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, διὰ τὸ  
 ξενικοῖς στεφάνοις ταύτην ἀποδεδόσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν,

- ἐκ δὲ τῶν Δημοσθένους πολιτευμάτων ὑμεῖς μὲν  
 ἀστεφάνωτοι καὶ ἀκήρυκτοι γίγνεσθε, οὗτος δὲ κηρυ-  
 231 χθήσεται; καὶ εἰ μὲν τις τῶν τραγικῶν ποιητῶν τῶν  
 μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπεισαγόντων ποιήσειεν ἐν τραγωδίᾳ τὸν  
 Θερσίτην ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στεφανούμενον, οὐδεὶς  
 ἂν ὑμῶν ὑπομείνειεν, ὅτι φησὶν Ὅμηρος ἄνανδρον  
 αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ συκοφάντην· αὐτοὶ δ' ὅταν τὸν τοι-  
 οῦτον ἄνθρωπον στεφανώτε, οὐκ οἴεσθε ἐν ταῖς τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων δόξαις συρίττεσθαι; οἱ μὲν γὰρ πατέρες  
 ὑμῶν τὰ ἔνδοξα καὶ λαμπρὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνετί-  
 θεσαν τῷ δήμῳ, τὰ δὲ ταπεινὰ καὶ καταδεέστερα εἰς  
 τοὺς ῥήτορας τοῖς φαύλους ἔτρεπον· Κτησιφῶν δ'  
 ὑμᾶς οἶεται δεῖν ἀφελόντας τὴν ἀδοξίαν ἀπὸ Δημο-  
 232 σθένους περιθεῖναι τῷ δήμῳ. καὶ φατὲ μὲν εὐτυχεῖς 87  
 εἶναι, ὥς καὶ ἐστὲ καλῶς ποιοῦντες, ψηφιεῖσθε δ'  
 ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς τύχης ἐγκαταλελειφθαι, ὑπὸ Δημοσθέ-  
 νους δὲ εὖ πεπονθέναι; καὶ τὸ πάντων ἀτοπώτατον,  
 ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς δικαστηρίοις τοὺς μὲν τὰς τῶν δώρων  
 γραφὰς ἀλίσκομένους ἀτιμοῦτε, ὃν δ' αὐτοὶ μισθοῦ  
 πολιτευόμενον σύνιστε, στεφανώσετε; καὶ τοὺς μὲν  
 κριτὰς τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Διονυσίων, εἰ μὴ δικαίως τοὺς  
 κυκλίους χοροὺς κρίνωσι, ζημιοῦτε· αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐ κυ-  
 κλίων χορῶν κριταὶ καθεστηκότες ἀλλὰ νόμων καὶ  
 πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς, τὰς δωρεὰς οὐ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους  
 οὐδ' ὀλίγοις καὶ τοῖς ἀξίοις ἀλλὰ τῷ διαπραξαμένῳ  
 233 δώσετε; ἔπειτ' ἔξισιν ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ὁ τοιοῦτος  
 κριτῆς ἑαυτὸν μὲν ἀσθενῇ πεποιηκώς, ἰσχυρὸν δὲ τὸν  
 ῥήτορα. ἀνὴρ γὰρ ἰδιώτης ἐν πόλει δημοκρατουμένη  
 νόμῳ καὶ ψήφῳ βασιλεύει· ὅταν δ' ἐτέρῳ ταῦτα  
 παραδῶ, καταλέλκεν αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ δυναστείαν.



ἔπειθ' ὁ μὲν ὄρκος, ὃν ὁμωμοκῶς δικάζει, συμπαρα-  
κολουθῶν αὐτὸν λυπεῖ [δι' αὐτὸν γὰρ οἶμαι γέγονε  
τὸ ἀμάρτημα] ἡ δὲ χάρις πρὸς ὃν ἐχαρίζετο ἄδηλος  
γεγένηται· ἡ γὰρ ψῆφος ἀφανὴς φέρεται.

Δοκοῦμεν δ' ἔμοιγε, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀμφότερα καὶ 234  
κατορθοῦν καὶ παρακινδυνεύειν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν οὐ  
σωφρονοῦντες. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν νῦν καιρῶν οἱ  
πολλοὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις προῖεσθε τὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας  
ἰσχυρά, οὐκ ἐπαινῶ· ὅτι δ' οὐ γεγένηται φορὰ καθ'  
ἡμᾶς ῥητόρων πονηρῶν ἅμα καὶ τολμηρῶν, εὐτυχοῦ-  
μεν. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ τοιαύτας φύσεις ἤνεγκε τὸ  
δημόσιον, αἱ ῥαδίως οὕτω κατέλυσαν τὸν δῆμον·  
ἔχαιρε γὰρ κολακεύομενος, ἔπειτ' αὐτὸν οὐχ οὖς  
ἐφοβεῖτο, ἀλλ' οἷς ἑαυτὸν ἐνεχείριζε, κατέλυσαν·  
ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐγένοντο, οἱ πλεί- 235  
ους ἢ χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκρί-  
τους ἀπέκτειναν πρὶν καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἀκοῦσαι ἐφ'  
αἷς ἔμελλον ἀποθνήσκειν, καὶ οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς  
καὶ ἐκφορὰς τῶν τελευτησάντων εἶων τοὺς προσή-  
κοντας παραγενέσθαι. οὐχ ὑφ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἔξετε  
τοῖς πολιτευομένους; οὐ ταπεινώσαντες ἀποπέμ-  
ψετε τοὺς νῦν ἐπηρμένους; οὐ μέμνησθ' ὅτι οὐδεὶς  
πώποτε ἐπέθετο πρότερον τῇ τοῦ δήμου καταλύσει,  
πρὶν ἂν μείζον τῶν δικαστηρίων ἰσχύσῃ;

Ἡδέως δ' ἂν ἔγωγε, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐναντίον ὑμῶν 236  
ὁμολογησαίμην πρὸς τὸν γράψαντα τὸ ψήφισμα, διὰ  
ποίας εὐεργεσίας ἀξιοῖ Δημοσθένην στεφανῶσαι. εἰ  
μὲν γὰρ λέγεις, ὅθεν τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ψηφίσματος  
ἐποιήσω, ὅτι τὰς τάφρους τὰς περὶ τὰ τεῖχη καλῶς  
ἐτάφρευσε, θαυμάζω σου. τοῦ γὰρ ταῦτ' ἐξεργασθῇ-

- ναι καλῶς τὸ γεγενῆσθαι τούτων αἴτιον μείζω κατηγορίαν ἔχει· οὐ γὰρ περιχαρακώσαντα χρὴ τὰ τείχη οὐδὲ τὰς δημοσίας ταφὰς ἀνελόντα τὸν ὀρθῶς πεπολιτευμένον δωρεὰς αἰτεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀγαθοῦ τινος αἴτιον
- 237 γεγενημένον τῇ πόλει. εἰ δὲ ἤξεις ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον μέρος τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ἐν ᾧ τετόλμηκας γράφειν ὥς ἔστιν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ διατελεῖ λέγων καὶ πράττων τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἀφελὼν τὴν ἀλαζονείαν καὶ τὸν κέμπον τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἄψαι τῶν ἔργων, ἐπίδειξον ἡμῖν ὅτι λέγεις. τὰς μὲν γὰρ περὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας καὶ τοὺς Εὐβοέας δωροδοκίας παραλείπω· ὅταν δὲ τῆς πρὸς Θηβαίους συμμαχίας τὰς αἰτίας ἀνατιθῆς Δημοσθένει, τοὺς μὲν ἀγνοοῦντας ἐξαπατᾷς, τοὺς δ' εἰδότας καὶ αἰσθανομένους ὑβρίζεις. ἀφελὼν γὰρ τὸν καιρὸν καὶ τὴν δόξαν τὴν τούτων, δι' ἣν ἐγένετο ἡ συμμαχία, οἷοι λαυθάνειν ἡμᾶς τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα Δημοσθένει περιτιθείς.
- 238 ἡλίκον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἀλαζόνευμα τοῦτο, ἐγὼ πειράσομαι μεγάλῳ σημείῳ διδάξαι. ὁ γὰρ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς οὐ πολλῶ πρότερον χρόνῳ πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου διαβάσεως εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν κατέπεμψε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ μάλα ὑβριστικὴν καὶ βάρβαρον ἐπιστολήν, ἐν ᾗ τὰ τε δὴ ἄλλα καὶ μάλ' ἀπαιδευτῶς διελέχθη, καὶ ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ἐνέγραψεν, “ἐγώ” 88 φησὶν “ὑμῖν χρυσίον οὐ δώσω· μὴ με αἰτεῖτε· οὐ
- 239 γὰρ λήψεσθε.” οὗτος μέντοι ὁ αὐτὸς ἐγκαταληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων αὐτῷ κινδύνων, οὐκ αἰτοῦντων Ἀθηναίων, αὐτὸς ἐκὼν κατέπεμψε τριακόσια τάλαντα τῷ δήμῳ· ἃ σωφρονῶν οὐκ ἐδέξατο. ὁ δὲ κομίζων ἦν τὸ χρυσίου καιρὸς καὶ φόβος καὶ χρεία

συμμάχων. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Θηβαίων  
 συμμαχίαν ἐξειργάζετο. σὺ δὲ τὸ μὲν τῶν Θηβαίων  
 ὄνομα καὶ τὸ τῆς δυστυχεστάτης συμμαχίας ἐνο-  
 χλεῖς αἰεὶ λέγων, τὰ δ' ἐβδομήκοντα τάλαντα ὑποσι-  
 ωπᾶς ἂν προλαβὼν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ χρυσίου ἀπεστέ-  
 ρησας. οὐ δὲ ἔνδειαν μὲν χρημάτων ἔνεκα πέντε 240  
 ταλάντων οἱ ξένοι τοῖς Θηβαίοις τὴν ἄκραν οὐ παρ-  
 ἔδοσαν; διὰ ἐννέα δὲ τάλαντα ἀργυρίου πάντων  
 Ἀρκάδων ἐξεληλυθότων καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐτοίμων  
 ὄντων βοηθεῖν ἢ πρᾶξις οὐ γεγένηται; σὺ δὲ πλου-  
 τεῖς καὶ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ταῖς σαυτοῦ χορηγεῖς. καὶ τὸ  
 κεφάλαιον, τὸ μὲν βασιλικὸν χρυσίον παρὰ τούτῳ,  
 οἱ δὲ κίνδυνοι παρ' ὑμῖν.

Ἄξιον δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὴν ἀπαιδευσίαν αὐτῶν θεω- 241  
 ρῆσαι· εἰ γὰρ τολμήσει Κτησιφῶν μὲν Δημοσθένην  
 παρακαλεῖν λέξοντα εἰς ὑμᾶς, οὗτος δ' ἀναβὰς ἑαυ-  
 τὸν ἐγκωμιάσει, βαρύτερον τῶν ἔργων ὧν πεπόνθατε  
 τὸ ἀκρόαμα γίνεται. ὅπου γὰρ δὴ τοὺς μὲν ὄντως  
 ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς, οἷς πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ σύνισμεν ἔργα,  
 εἰς τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπαίνους λέγωσιν, οὐ φέρο-  
 μεν· ὅταν δὲ ἄνθρωπος αἰσχύνη τῆς πόλεως γεγονώς  
 ἑαυτὸν ἐγκωμιάξῃ, τίς ἂν τὰ τοιαῦτα καρτερήσκειν  
 ἀκούων;

Ἀπὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀναισχύντου πραγματείας, εἰς 242  
 σωφρονῆς, ἀποστήσῃ, ποιῆσαι δὲ ὧ Κτησιφῶν διὰ  
 σαυτοῦ τὴν ἀπολογίαν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ πού τοῦτό γε  
 σκήψῃ, ὥς οὐ δυνατὸς εἶ λέγειν. καὶ γὰρ ἄτοπόν  
 σοι συμβαίνει, εἰ πρόην μὲν ποθ' ὑπέμεινας πρεσ-  
 βευτῆς ὡς Κλεοπάτραν τὴν Φιλίππου θυγατέρα  
 χειροτονεῖσθαι συναχθεσόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Μο-



λοττῶν βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῇ, νυνὶ δὲ οὐ  
 φήσεις δύνασθαι λέγειν. ἔπειτα γυναῖκα μὲν ἄλλο-  
 τρίαν πενθοῦσαν δύνασαι παραμυθεῖσθαι, γράψας δὲ  
 243 μισθοῦ ψήφισμα οὐκ ἀπολογίῃσιν; ἢ τοιοῦτός ἐστιν  
 ὃν γέγραφας στεφανοῦσθαι, οἷος μὴ γιγνώσκεσθαι  
 ὑπὸ τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων, ἂν μὴ τίς σοι συνείπῃ;  
 ἐπερώτησον δὴ τοὺς δικαστὰς εἰ ἐγίγνωσκον Χαβρίαν  
 καὶ Ἴφικράτην καὶ Τιμόθεον, καὶ πνθοῦ παρ' αὐτῶν  
 διὰ τί τὰς δωρεὰς αὐτοῖς ἔδωσαν καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας  
 ἔστησαν. ἅπαντες γὰρ ἅμα σοι ἀποκρινοῦνται ὅτι  
 Χαβρία μὲν διὰ τὴν περὶ Νάξον ναυμαχίαν, Ἴφικρά-  
 τει δὲ ὅτι μόραν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπέκτεινε, Τιμοθέῳ  
 δὲ διὰ τὸν περίπλουν τὸν εἰς Κέρκυραν, καὶ ἄλλοις,  
 ὧν ἐκάστῳ πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργα πέ-  
 244 πρακται. Δημοσθένεια δ' ἐάν τις ἐρωτᾷ διὰ τί οὐ δώ-  
 σετε; ὅτι δωροδόκος, ὅτι δειλός, ὅτι τὴν τάξιν ἔλιπε.  
 καὶ πότερον τοῦτον τιμήσετε, ἢ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀτιμώ-  
 σετε καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐντῇ μάχῃ τελευτήσαντας;  
 οὐς νομίζεθ' ὁρᾶν σχετλιάζοντας εἰοῦτος στεφανωθή-  
 σεται. καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἴη δεινόν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ τὰ μὲν  
 ξύλα καὶ τοὺς λίθους καὶ τὸν σίδηρον, τὰ ἄφωνα  
 καὶ ἀγνώμονα, ἐάν τῳ ἐμπεσόντα ἀποκτείνῃ, ὑπερ-  
 ορίζομεν, καὶ ἐάν τις αὐτὸν διαχρήσῃται, τὴν χεῖρα  
 τὴν τοῦτο πράξασαν χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος θάπτομεν,  
 245 Δημοσθένει δέ, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν γράψαντα μὲν τὴν  
 πανυστάτην ἔξοδον, προδόντα δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας,  
 τοῦτον ὑμεῖς τιμήσετε. οὐκοῦν ὑβρίζονται μὲν οἱ  
 τελευτήσαντες, ἀθυμότεροι δὲ οἱ ζῶντες γίγνονται  
 ὀρώντες τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄθλον τὸν θάνατον κείμενον,  
 τὴν δὲ μνήμην ἐπιλείπουσαν. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἐάν

ἐπερωτῶσιν ὑμᾶς οἱ νεώτεροι πρὸς ποῖον χρή παρά-  
 δειγμα αὐτοὺς τὸν βίον ποιεῖσθαι, τί κρινεῖτε; εὖ 246  
 γὰρ ἴστε, ὅτι οὐχ αἱ παλαίστραι οὐδὲ τὰ διδα-  
 89 σκαλεῖα οὐδ' ἡ μουσικὴ μόνον παιδεύει τοὺς νεω-  
 τέρους ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον τὰ δημόσια κηρύγματα.  
 κηρύττεται τις ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ὅτι στεφανοῦται ἀρε-  
 τῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας καὶ εὐνοίας ἄνθρωπος  
 ἀσχημονῶν τῷ βίῳ καὶ βδελυρός· ὁ δέ γε νεώτερος  
 ταῦτ' ἰδὼν διεφθάρη. δίκην τις δέδωκε πονηρὸς καὶ  
 πορνοβοσκὸς ὥσπερ Κτησιφῶν· οἱ δέ γε ἄλλοι πε-  
 παίδευνται. τὰναντία τις ψηφισάμενος τῶν καλῶν  
 καὶ δικαίων ἐπανελθὼν οἵκαδε παιδεύει τὸν υἱόν· ὁ  
 δέ γε εἰκότως οὐ πείθεται, ἀλλὰ τὸ νουθετεῖν ἐνταῦθα  
 ἐνοχλεῖν ἤδη καὶ δικαίως ὀνομάζεται. ὥς οὖν μὴ 247  
 μόνον κρίνοντας ἀλλὰ καὶ θεωρούμενοι, οὕτω τὴν  
 ψῆφον φέρετε, εἰς ἀπολογισμὸν τοῖς νῦν μὲν οὐ  
 παροῦσι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐπερησομένοις δὲ ὑμᾶς τί  
 ἐδικάζετε. εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, ὦ Ἀθηναῖσι, ὅτι τοιαύτη  
 δόξει ἡ πόλις εἶναι, ὅποῖός τις ἂν ἦ ὁ κηρυττόμενος·  
 ἔστι δὲ ὄνειδος μὴ τοῖς προγόνοις ἀλλὰ τῇ Δημο-  
 σθένους ἀνανδρίᾳ προσεικασθῆναι. πῶς οὖν ἂν τις 248  
 τὴν τοιαύτην αἰσχύνην ἐκφύγοι; εἰὰ τοὺς προκατα-  
 λαμβάνοντας τὰ κοινὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα τῶν ὀνομά-  
 των, ἀπίστους ὄντας τοῖς ἡθεσι, φυλάξῃσθε. ἡ γὰρ  
 εὐνοία καὶ τὸ τῆς δημοκρατίας ὄνομα κεῖται μὲν ἐν  
 μέσῳ, φθάνουσι δ' ἐπ' αὐτὰ καταφεύγοντες τῷ λόγῳ  
 ὥς ἐπὶ πολὺ οἱ τοῖς ἔργοις πλεῖστον ἀπέχοντες.  
 ὅταν οὖν λάβητε ῥήτορα [ξενικῶν] στεφάνων καὶ 249  
 κηρυγμάτων ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐπιθυμοῦντα, ἐπαν-  
 ἀγειν αὐτὸν κελεύετε τὸν λόγον, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰς

βεβαιώσεις τῶν κτημάτων ὁ νόμος κελεύει ποιεῖσ-  
 θαι, εἰς βίον ἀξιόχρεων καὶ τρόπον σώφρονα. ὅτῳ  
 δὲ ταῦτα μὴ μαρτυρεῖται, μὴ βεβαιούτε αὐτῷ τοὺς  
 ἐπαίνους, καὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἐπιμελήθητε ἤδη  
 250 διαφευγούσης ὑμᾶς. ἢ οὐ δεινὸν δοκεῖ ὑμῖν εἶναι εἰ  
 τὸ μὲν βουλευτήριον καὶ ὁ δῆμος παρορᾶται, αἱ δ'  
 ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ πρεσβεῖαι ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς ἰδιωτικὰς  
 οἰκίας, οὐ παρὰ τῶν τυχόντων ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ  
 παρὰ τῶν πρωτευόντων ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ τῇ Εὐρώ-  
 πῃ; καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν νόμων ζημία θάνατος,  
 ταῦτά τινες οὐκ ἐξαρνοῦνται πρᾶττειν ἀλλ' ὁμολογοῦ-  
 σιν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἀλλήλοις παρ-  
 αναγιγνώσκουσιν, καὶ παρακελεύονται ὑμῖν οἱ μὲν  
 βλέπειν εἰς τὰ ἑαυτῶν πρόσωπα ὡς φύλακες τῆς  
 δημοκρατίας, ἕτεροι δ' αἰτοῦσι δωρεὰς ὡς σωτῆρες  
 251 τῆς πόλεως ὄντες. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐκ τῆς ἀθυμίας τῶν  
 συμβεβηκότων ὥσπερ παραγεγηρακὼς ἢ παρανοίας  
 ἐαλωκὼς αὐτὸ μόνον τοῦνομα τῆς δημοκρατίας περι-  
 ποιεῖται, τῶν δ' ἔργων ἑτέροις παρακεχώρηκεν.  
 ἔπειτ' ἀπέρχεσθε ἐκ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν οὐ βουλευ-  
 σάμενοι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐκ τῶν ἐράνων, τὰ περιόντα  
 νειμάμενοι. ὅτι δ' οὐ ληρῶ, ἐκείθεν τὸν λόγον θεω-  
 252 ρήσατε. ἐγένετό τις (ἄχθομαι δὲ πολλάκις μεμνη-  
 μένος τὰς ἀτυχίας τῆς πόλεως) ἐνταῦθ' ἀνὴρ ἰδιώ-  
 της, ὃς ἐκπλεῖν εἰς Σάμον ἐπιχειρήσας ὡς προδότης  
 τῆς πατρίδος αἰθήμερόν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου  
 βουλῆς θανάτῳ ἐξημιώθη. ἕτερος δ' ἐκπλεύσας ἰδιώ-  
 της εἰς Ῥόδον, ὅτι τὸν φόβον ἀνάνδρως ἤνεγκε,  
 πρῶτην ποτὲ εἰσηγγέλθη καὶ ἴσαι αἱ ψῆφοι αὐτῷ  
 ἐγένοντο· εἰ δὲ μία μόνον μετέπεσεν, ὑπερώριστ'



ἂν ἢ ἀπέθανεν. ἀντιθῶμεν δὴ τὸ νῦν γιγνόμενον. 253  
 ἀνὴρ ῥήτωρ, ὁ πάντων τῶν κακῶν αἴτιος, ἔλιπε  
 μὲν τὴν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου τάξιν, ἀπέδρα δ' ἐκ τῆς  
 πόλεως· οὗτος στεφανοῦσθαι ἀξιοῖ καὶ κηρύττεσθαι  
 οἶεται δεῖν. οὐκ ἀποπέμψετε τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὡς κοινὴν  
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμφορὰν; ἢ συλλαβόντες ὡς λησ-  
 τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐπ' ὀνομάτων διὰ τῆς πολιτείας  
 πλέοντα, τιμωρήσεσθε; καὶ τὸν καιρὸν μέμνησθε 254  
 ἐν ᾧ τὴν ψῆφον φέρετε. ἡμερῶν μὲν ὀλίγων μέλλει  
 τὰ Πύθια γίγνεσθαι καὶ τὸ συνέδριον τὸ τῶν Ἑλλή-  
 νων συλλέγεσθαι· διαβέβληται δ' ἡ πόλις ἐκ τῶν  
 Δημοσθένους πολιτευμάτων περὶ τοὺς νῦν καιρούς·  
 δόξετε δ', ἂν μὲν τοῦτον στεφανώσητε, ὁμογνώμο-  
 90 νες εἶναι τοῖς παραβαίνουσι τὴν κοινὴν εἰρήνην, ἂν  
 δὲ τὸναντίον τούτου πράξῃτε, ἀπολύσετε τὸν δῆμον  
 τῶν αἰτιῶν.

Μὴ οὖν ὡς ὑπὲρ ἀλλοτρίας ἀλλ' ὡς ὑπὲρ οἰκείας 255  
 τῆς πόλεως βουλευέσθε, καὶ τὰς φιλοτιμίας μὴ νέ-  
 μετε ἀλλὰ κρίνετε, καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς εἰς βελτίω σώ-  
 ματα καὶ ἀξιολογωτέρους ἄνδρας ἀπόθεσθε. καὶ μὴ  
 μόνον τοῖς ὤσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὄμμασι διαβλέψαντες  
 εἰς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς βουλευσασθε, τίνες ὑμῶν εἰσιν οἱ  
 βοηθήσαντες Δημοσθένει, πότερον οἱ συγκυνηγέται  
 ἢ οἱ συγγυμνασταὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτ' ἦν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ. ἀλλὰ  
 μὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Ὀλύμπιον, οὐχ ἱς ἀγρίους κυνηγε-  
 τῶν οὐδὲ τῆς τοῦ σώματος εὐεξίας ἐπιμελόμενος,  
 ἀλλ' ἐπασκῶν τέχνας ἐπὶ τοὺς τὰς οὐσίας κεκτημέ-  
 νους διαγεγένηται. ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἀλαζονείαν ἀποβλέ- 256  
 ψαντες, ὅταν φῇ Βυζαντίους μὲν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν

πρεσβεύσας ἐξελέσθαι τοῦ Φιλίππου, ἀποστήσαι δὲ  
 Ἀκαρνᾶνας, ἐκπλήξαι δὲ Θηβαίους δημηγορήσας·  
 οἴεται γὰρ ὑμᾶς εἰς τοσοῦτον εὐηθείας ἤδη προβε-  
 βηκέναι ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα ἀναπεισθήσεσθαι, ὥσπερ  
 Πειθὼ τρέφοντας ἀλλ' οὐ συκοφάντην ἄνθρωπον ἐν  
 257 τῇ πόλει. Ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ τελευτῇς ἤδη τοῦ λόγου συνη-  
 γόρους τοὺς κοινωνοὺς τῶν δωροδοκημάτων αὐτῷ  
 παρακαλῇ, ὑπολαμβάνετε ὁρᾶν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, οὐ  
 νῦν ἐστηκὼς ἐγὼ λέγω, ἀντιπαρατεταγμένους πρὸς  
 τὴν τούτων ἀσέλγειαν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως εὐεργέτας,  
 Σόλωνα μὲν τὸν καλλίστοις νόμοις κοσμήσαντα τὴν  
 δημοκρατίαν, ἄνδρα φιλόσοφον καὶ νομοθέτην ἀγαθόν,  
 σωφρόνως, ὡς προσῆκεν αὐτῷ, δεόμενον ὑμῶν μη-  
 δενὶ τρόπῳ τοὺς Δημοσθένους λόγους περὶ πλείονος  
 258 ποιήσασθαι τῶν ὅρκων καὶ τῶν νόμων, Ἀριστείδην  
 δὲ τὸν τοὺς φόρους τάξαντα τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, οὐ τελευ-  
 τήσαντος τὰς θυγατέρας ἐξέδωκεν ὁ δῆμος, σχετλιά-  
 ζοντα ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς δικαιοσύνης προπηλακισμῷ, καὶ  
 ἐπερωτῶντα εἰ οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε εἰ οἱ μὲν πατέρες  
 ὑμῶν Ἀρθμιον τὸν Ζελεΐτην κομίσαντα εἰς τὴν Ἑλ-  
 λάδα τὸ ἐκ Μήδων χρυσίον, ἐπιδημήσαντα εἰς τὴν  
 πόλιν, πρόξενον ὄντα τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων,  
 παρ' οὐδὲν μὲν ἦλθον ἀποκτείνειαι, ἐξεκήρυξαν δ' ἐκ  
 τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐξ ἀπάσης ἧς Ἀθηναῖοι ἄρχουσιν,  
 259 ὑμεῖς δὲ Δημοσθένην, οὐ κομίσαντα τὸ ἐκ Μήδων  
 χρυσίον ἀλλὰ δωροδοκήσαντα καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν κεκτη-  
 μένον, χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ μέλλετε στεφανοῦν. Θεμι-  
 στοκλέα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι τελευτήσαντας  
 καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς τάφους τοὺς

τῶν προγόνων οὐκ ἂν οἴεσθε στενάξαι, εἰ ὁ μετὰ τῶν  
βαρβάρων ὁμολογῶν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀντιπράττειν  
στεφανωθήσεται;

Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὦ γῆ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ σύνε- 260  
σις καὶ παιδεία, ἣ διαγιγνώσκομεν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ  
αἰσχρά, βεβοήθηκα καὶ εἴρηκα. καὶ εἰ μὲν καλῶς  
καὶ ἀξίως τοῦ ἀδικήματος κατηγόρηκα, εἶπον ὥς  
ἐβουλόμην, εἰ δὲ ἐνδεεστέως, ὥς ἐδυνάμην. ὑμεῖς  
δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων λόγων καὶ ἐκ τῶν παραλε-  
λειμμένων αὐτοὶ τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα ὑπὲρ  
τῆς πόλεως ψηφίσασθε.





## NOTES.

§§ 1—8 Prooemium. The theme is the concluding sentence of § 6. The prooemium is modest, avoiding everything personal; well calculated, though not original. Aeschines endeavours to create the impression that he has come forward solely on public grounds. See the reply of Demosthenes *de Cor.* 292.

1 παρασκευὴν...παράταξιν, military metaphors like αἰρεῖν, ἀγών, ὁ διώκων etc., 'the preparation and array of advocates and supporters of Demosthenes.' Probably the use of *unlawful* weapons is suggested. So Aeschin. i. 193 τὴν παρασκευὴν καὶ τοὺς συνηγόρους, and *infra* § 35. παρασκευή and παρασκεύεσθαι are frequently used in the Orators for the corrupt getting up of cases. See Lysias 7 § 18; 12 § 75; 13 § 22. Demosthenes had made the same charge against Aeschines in the opening sentence of his speech *de Fals. Leg.*

παρασκευὴν ὅση γεγ. for ὅση παρασκευή. The same anticipation of the subject of the dependent clause in the similar passage of Andocides, i. 1, which Aesch. is probably imitating.

δεήσεις 'entreaties' made by the friends of Demosthenes to the jury personally just before the trial, cf. Dem. *Fals. Leg.* 1 ἐνοχλοῦντας καὶ προσιόντας ὑμῖν. Lysurg. c. *Leocr.* 20 τὰς δεήσεις τῶν ἐξαιτουμένων (exorantium). The ἀγορὰ was close to the δικαστήρια. τινες depreciatory §§ 58, 91.

ὑπὲρ τοῦ κ.τ.λ. 'with the object of suppressing just and customary rights.' μέτρια nearly = the more usual δίκαια. For the construction, cf. *de Cor.* 205, and Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, § 94.

οὐδεμίαν. οὐδεμίαν ἂν conj. Weidn. ἰσχύσειν Dobree, on the ground that Aesch. expresses an opinion of the future, rather than of the past, conscientiousness of the judges; but the present is more forcible as describing the constant habit of the jury.

2 ἐβουλόμεν (without *ἀν* which Cobet would read for *οὖν*) is occasionally used to express what some one wishes were now true (but which is not true). 'Would that both the council and the assemblies were rightly managed and that the laws were in force' (implying the opposite of *ὀρθῶς διοικεῖσθαι* and *ισχύειν*). Cf. Ar. *Ran.* 866. Goodwin, *M.T.* 49. 2, note 3, c. Hadley, *Gr. Gr.* § 895. For the indicative *ἐξήν*, see *M.T.* 44. 3. Hadley § 884. τοὺς πεντακοσίους in apposition to τὴν βουλὴν to distinguish it from the Areopagus which was also regarded as a βουλή, 'the Council of Five Hundred and the Popular Assemblies.' Schoemann *Antiquities of Greece* III. 3. b. ee., Eng. Trans. pp. 371, 379. Smith's *Dict. Antiqq.* s. v. βουλή.

τῶν ἐφεστηκότων 'the presiding officers.' In the time of Thucydides these were the 50 *πρυτάνεις* of the *φυλὴ πρυτανεύουσα* (Schoemann 376; *Dict. Antiqq.* p. 210), from whom an ἐπιστάτης (President) was chosen daily by lot. But in the time of Demosthenes some decades after the archonship of Euclides (403), the chairman of the Boule and Ecclesia was an Epistates chosen by lot from among nine πρόεδροι (presidential board), themselves daily chosen by lot from each of the non-*prytanising* tribes, the old arrangement still continuing for the performance of the more formal functions. *Journal of Philology* III. 169 ff.; Schoemann 377; Dem. c. *Timocr.* 21, Wayte's note. Dem. *Phil.* I. Appendix 52. Harpocrat. s. vv. ἐπιστάτης, πρόεδρος. Pollux 8, 96.

τ. νόμους οὓς [νόμους] ἐνομοθέτησε. *Figura etymologica.* A favourite mannerism of Aeschines, *infr.* 7, 18, 21, 23, etc. For the attribution of legislation generally to Solon, see on Dem. *Cor.* § 6. ἔξῃν Goodw. § 216. 3.

τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ—τὸν βουλόμενον. Note transition from *dat.* to *acc.* c. *infin.* after *ἐξήν*. For ὁ βουλόμενος see Dem. *Cor.* § 189. Cobet would omit ὥσπερ...κελεύουσι.

σωφρόνως 'quietly.' ἐν μέρει 'each in his turn,' *infr.* § 4.

γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι The article is omitted, as the words form one idea. Dem. *Phil.* I. App. p. 53 note 21.

διοικεῖσθαι. Of the conduct of business, in the Assembly and before the Heliasts. For the observation of formal procedure the presiding officers were not responsible, but the proposers of a motion (οἱ πολιτευόμενοι, οἱ ῥήτορες). An excessive number of γραφαὶ παρανόμων resulted from the disorder caused by this anomaly. Madvig *Kl. Phil. Schr.* 379, and *infr.* § 194. The γραφὴ παρανόμων was essentially concerned with formal irregularities.

ἐλάχισται 'as few as possible.'



3 ἐπειδὴ δέ. Apodosis in § 4 σεσλήγεται μὲν.

ῥαδίως = *temere* 'recklessly.' Dem. *Phil.* i. 46 n.

γνώμας = ψηφίσματα 'motions,' so § 230. These were παράνομοι if in conflict with existing laws. If the Epistates of the Proedri declined to put these to the vote (γνώμας ἐπιψηφίζειν, *infr.* 124, 128; *F. L.* 62; Schoem. 384), he might be compelled to do so by the outcry of a prevailing majority. Aeschines *F. L.* § 84. Cobet would read ταύτας and omit τὰ ψηφίσματα.

ἕτεροί τινες, πρόεδροι.

ἐκ παρασκευῆς καθεζόμενοι 'obtaining their seats corruptly,' or, 'by intrigue,' §§ 62, 73. Cf. *c. Timarch.* (i.) 106 οὐ λαχὼν οὐδὲ χειροτονηθεὶς ἀλλὰ πάσας παρὰ τοὺς νόμους πριάμενος. λαχὼν appointed by lot, χειροτονηθεὶς chosen by vote: for the mode of procedure in the former case see Schoem. p. 402. Aeschines would hardly have hazarded these insinuations, if tampering with election by lot had been entirely unknown. ἐκ of way, manner, *Phil.* i. 21 n.

ὄντως join with κληρούμενος, respectable men who appear personally and draw their lots fairly. In opposition to ἐκ παρασκευῆς.

τὰς χειροτονίας ἀναγορεύειν *suffragia renuntiare*, "announce officially." Schoem. 385; *Dict. Ant.* p. 271 a.

ἰδίαν αὐτῶν, more emphatic than ἰδίαν, cf. Dem. *Ol.* ii. 16.

εἰσαγγέλλειν 'to accuse him by bill of indictment.' εἰσαγγελία is the term applied to criminal information laid before the Council or Popular Assembly regarding a crime which affected the interests of the state, but to which, on account of the pressure of opposing circumstances, the usual course of law did not seem applicable. Schoem. 479. *Dict. Ant.* p. 447. εἰσαγγελεῖν conj. Reiske and W. as the correct tense after ἀπειλοῦσιν.

δυναστείας 'oligarchical (arbitrary) domination' opposed to ἰσονομία. Thuc. 3, 62, 6, 38, *infr.* § 145 note. Aeschines invidiously opposes the cliques of ῥήτορες or δημήγοροι, Demosthenes in particular, to the ἰδιῶται (called also μέτριοι, ἀπράγμονες) the general body of citizens who took no part in the actual debates. *Dict. Ant.* 994-6. Thus Cicero contrasts *potentia* and *auctoritas* in *Mil.* § 12. τὰς δυναστ. is the reading of MSS. A followed by W. "the dominant influence" which properly belongs to the laws. περιποιούμενοι § 89.

4 τὰς κρίσεις...κρίνουσι 'ordinary legal processes they have abolished (by neglect, cf. *supr.* 3, καταλέλυται) while, availing

themselves of popular excitement (μετ' ὀργῆς), they carry on extraordinary prosecutions (sc. εἰσαγγελίας) founded on special decrees.' Hypereides (*Eux.* col. 18) alludes to the frequency, usque ad nauseam, of these εἰσαγγελίαι.

κήρυγμα, Aristoph. *Ach.* 45. Dem. *de Cor.* 191.

τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, sc. κηρυγμάτων, cf. inf. 154 and 9.

τὶς ἀγορεύειν β.; These three words only are usually quoted for the complete form (Dem. *de Cor.* 170), the remainder probably falling into disuse with the growth of professional oratory. We see however the spirit of the regulation retained in such instances as Aesch. *F. L.* 25, 47. See Schoem. pp. 382—3. Aeschin. i. 23.

ἐν μέρει and ἐν τῷ μέρει, lit. 'in the part that falls to one's lot,' so 'in turn,' cf. *Ol.* ii. 24.

προεδρεύουσα φυλή The tribe to whose lot it fell to assist the Prytanes and Proedri in preserving order near the Bema. This was an exceptional institution. For its origin circ. B.C. 345 in consequence of the violence of Timarehus: cf. Aeschin. i. 33. Schoem. 383, note 2.

τὸ δέκατον μέρος, not of the whole citizen-population, but of its representatives in the βουλή, as the scholiast points out. A. Schaef. *Dem.* ii. 291. 3.

5 καιρῶν 'circumstances,' 'situation,' *tempora*, Cic. *ad Div.* ii. 15. 6.

ὅποίους τινάς, predic. of αὐτοῦς. Indefinite, 'pretty nearly such as': the suffix περ has the contrary force, see διόπερ § 6.

ἐν μέρος All other privileges which the State ensures to the citizen have been taken from you by the political cliques (of § 3).

τισί 'a small faction,' contemptuously; this use of τινες is another mannerism, cf. § 1.

παρὰχωρήσαντες 'decedentes,' 'withdrawing from,' so 'giving up,' 'sacrificing,' cf. Dem. 5. 25 Φιλίππῳ Ἀμφιπόλειος παρὰχωρήκαμεν; *de Cor.* § 68. Cic. *pro Cluent.* 155 a legibus non recedamus. τῆς πολιτείας 'the constitution.'

6 τρεῖς εἰσι πολιτεῖαι κ.τ.λ. Repeated from i. 4, where Aesch. disclaims originality for the 'sententia,' which may be found in Isocr. xii. 132. Plato *Rep.* 338 D. Lycurg. *Leocr.* 3. See also Aristot. *Polit.* 4, 2; Polybius 6, 4.

γρ. παρ. δικάσων 'to sit as jurymen in an action of γραφή παρανόμων.'

τὴν ψήφον...παρρησίας 'the vote he is about to give concerns his own liberty.' For this sense of *παρρησία* (exercise of political freedom) see Aeschin. i. 114, τοῦ παιδὸς τὴν παρρησίαν ἀφαιρεῖται. Cf. Isocr. *Areop.* 20. Thuc. 8, 67, 2.

διόπερ 'for this very reason.' *Ol.* iii. 19.

ὁ νομοθέτης. See § 38, τῷ νομοθέτῃ n.

ψηφιοῦμαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους. The first words of the Heliasts' oath often partially quoted by the orators, as Dem. *de Cor.* 121. A full form is given in Dem. *c. Timocr.* 149—151, which Weidn. regards as substantially correct, but see Wayte's note; Schoem. p. 475; *Journ. Philol.* vi. 10.

7 ἡγεῖσθαι μικρὸν εἶναι 'treat as unimportant.'

μηδένα ἀνθρ. ἐξαιρεῖσθαι 'and that no man endeavour to deprive you of,' following χρῆ with change of subject. Reiske and later edd. give μηδένα ἐὰν ἀνθρ. ἐξαιρ. from an old marginal conjecture.

τὰς τῶν στρατηγῶν συνηγορίας 'advocacies.' The Generals were wont to plead the cause of their favourite orators when in danger. Phocion had done this for Aeschines himself when accused by Demosthenes, *de Fals. Leg.* §§ 170, 184.

ἐπὶ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον 'for some time past.' Hadley, 799 b. See on Dem. *de Cor.* § 316.

συνεργοῦντες. The reading of A, *συνηγοροῦντες* after the preceding *συνηγορίαν* is in accordance with Aeschinean paucity of vocabulary; but yet may well be a gloss.

ξένων δεήσεις. So Jason, tyrant of Pherae, spoke in behalf of Timotheus. Corn. Nep. *Timoth.* 4. 3. Compare the 'laudatio' (eulogy, testimonial) sent from Messana in behalf of Verres. Cic. *Verr.* ii. iv. § 3.

ἀναβιβαζόμενοι 'calling as witnesses in their favour,' cf. Aeschin. ii. 146.

τινες ἐκφεύγουσι. The orators are fond of drawing their illustrations from recent instances, without mentioning names, as Dem. *c. Aristocr.* 31, 100, and *infr.* 196.

παράνομον...πολιτευόμενοι 'although their administration was contrary to law.'

τὴν τάξιν λιπεῖν A natural illustration, but yet perhaps employed here as a taunt aimed at Demosthenes; cf. Aeschin. ii. 148 ἐγράφης λιποταξίου καὶ τὸν γραψάμενον Νικόδημον χρήμασι πείσας ἐσώθης, cp. § 155. Dem. was accused of *λιποταξία* on account of his return home in the time of the Euboean war, B.C. 350. The prosecutor Euctemon had so little to go upon that he did not press for a judicial decision. See Thirlwall, v. 390. A. Schaef. ii. 95.



ἤν ἂν ταχθῇ 'in which he may happen to have been placed,' instead of the more usual ἤν ταχθείη, because following a tense of future time. Goodwin, *M. T.* § 34. 1. b. See also § 20, n. 2.

8 παρακαταθέμενοι 'entrusting as a deposit,' so παῖδας διδασκάλοις, Aeschin. i. 9. The emphasis falls on the participles παρακαταθέμενοι, διαπιστεύσαντες, not on the following finite verbs πάρεισι κ.τ.λ. Trans. "All your fellow citizens, whether present..., or absent..., have entrusted to you...; and compare Cic. *pro Cluent.* 155, *populum Romanum aliud nunc agere, vobis rempublicam et fortunas suas commisisse.* διαπιστεύσαντες a rare word, and in this sense I think ἄπαξ λεγ. See 1 § 188. Cobet regards καί...διαπ. as a Byzantine interpolation.

ἐξελέγξωμεν. ἐξελέγξω Cobet. Plural of one person, the speaker. Common in Latin, rare in Greek, especially the orators. See ἡμεῖς § 50. There is no certain instance in Demosthenes. See 1 *Phil.* 30.

γεγραφότα A. γράψαντα B. The perfect tense is more generally used in censuring the past action of the defendant.

λύετε 'annul.' Blass (*Att. Bered.* p. 183) points out that in 330 the probouleuma of Ctesiphon had long ceased to be valid, and that this must have been therefore composed in 336.

τὴν δημοκρατίαν 'its democratic constitution,' which depends on the laws, and is endangered by παράνομοι γινώμαι.

εὖορκα 'in accordance with your juror's oath.' See on εὖορκος and ἐνορκος note on Dem. *de Cor.* § 249.

9 Having introduced the general charge (ἡ ὅλη κατηγορία) Aeschines proceeds to show (1) §§ 9—12, that a most essential law of the state had without excuse been violated in proposing to crown Demosthenes before the accounts of his administration had been duly scrutinized: (2) §§ 13—16—that his appointment to an extraordinary office could not be justly pleaded in extenuation: (3) §§ 17—31—that the fact that the money he had spent was his own could not make him a whit the less amenable to the scrutiny. To that scrutiny all offices were amenable, and Demosthenes as holding two when the bill of Ctesiphon was proposed could not evade the law.

μετρίως 'fairly well,' a litotes for ἀρκούντως or εὖ. Plat. *Crit.* 106 A. τῶν ὑπευθύνων subject to the εὔθυνα or audit, to which all Athenian magistrates had to submit within a certain time of the termination of their office. Until the ten εὔθυνοι had passed the accounts of such magistrates they were ὑπεύθυνοι and could hold no other office. παρ' οὓς 'contrary to which:' so *practer*, beside, the adversative sense of παρὰ being developed from the comparative.

προσλαμβάνοντες 'securing the support of,' cf. § 126.

πρόρρωθεν προκατελάμβανον 'anticipated long beforehand.'  
κηρύγμασιν 'by public recognitions.'

10 ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν, Dobree first proposed to strike out these words. It seems improbable that Aeschines would here describe as a matter of ordinary occurrence that which he elsewhere (§ 32) says was expressly forbidden by law; we must therefore take the words, if they stand, to refer to the state of things before the passing of the law, the date of which we do not know.

ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ... 'and that the same man, after a short interval, should leave the Court—convicted of embezzlement,' lit. 'having failed in the scrutiny for embezzlement.'

11 ἀπαγορεύοντα... μὴ see Madv. § 210. τῶν τ. ἱπ. στεφανούντων 'those who try to crown.' Goodwin, *M. T.* 10. 1, Note 2.

οἱ μὲν, answered by Κτησιφῶν δὲ below. εἰ δὲ 'if indeed' implying the contrary, cf. § 155 note.

ἀλλ' οὖν, followed after an interval by γε emphasizing the word which precedes it; cf. Dem. *Phil.* III. § 30, ἀλλ' οὖν ὑπὸ γνησίων γ' ὄντων τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἠδικοῦντο, 'but at any rate, they were wronged by men who were genuine sons of Hellas.' ἀλλ' οὖν without following γε *infr.* 86, and see 155 n.

προβάλλονται 'they put forward some kind of pretext to conceal.' § 203. Thuc. 2, 87, 3. But Ctesiphon disregards all qualifications of this sort. ἐπειδὴν... δῶ *cum dederit* 'as soon as we shall have given.'

12 προκαταλαμβάνονται *cp.* § 9. ὑπερπηδήσας, a stronger word than ὑπερβῆναι or παραβῆναι. It implies contemptuous transgression.

μεταξὺ... ἄρχοντα 'before his period of office was over.' Cf. μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες Dem. *Cor.* § 169.

13 ὥς ἄρα 'that forsooth,'—implying the falseness of the pretext, cf. § 137.

αἵρετοί, properly tribesmen elected to manage the affairs of the tribe by their fellow-tribesmen. But as the work of repairing the walls had been assigned to the tribes by ψήφισμα (special decree), the tribe Pandionis appointed Demosthenes to superintend, cf. §§ 27, 31. So, as τεichoποιός he was αἵρετός. χειροτονητοί was the name given to officers appointed by the whole people in council (ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις) to perform some particular business of the state. See *Dict. Ant.* 271 a.

ἀρχή. The subject is obscure. Aristotle says (Pol. iv. 12. 2), ἔστι δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο διορίσαι ῥάδιον ποίας δεῖ καλεῖν ἀρχάς.

ἐπιμέλεια... διακονία 'but a kind of public commission and service.' Cf. the distinction between *magistratus* and *curatio*. See Dem. *de Cor.* §§ 206, 311.

ἀποκληροῦσιν 'assign by lot,' so § 15 κληρωταὶ ἀρχαὶ opposed to αἰρεταί. The Archonship, membership of the Boulè, and offices connected with judicial and tribal administration were assigned by lot; the Strategus and other officers connected with the army, as also ambassadors and such extraordinary officials, were elected.

τὰς μετὰ τούτων, taxiarchs, phylarchs, etc. cf. Dem. 1 *Phil.* § 26 οὐκ ἐχειροτονεῖτε δ' ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν δέκα ταξιάρχους καὶ στρατηγούς καὶ φυλάρχους καὶ ἱππάρχους δύο;

πραγματείας = ἐπιμελείας. κατὰ ψήφισμα 'according to special vote,' as opposed to the regular yearly officers appointed according to law.

14 νόμον ὑμέτερον 'a law of yours.'

ἐπιστάτας, the title of ἐπιστάτης was applied not only to the chairman of the senate and assembly, but also to the directors of the public works, τειχοποιοί, τριηροποιοί, etc. *Dict. Ant.* s. v. Grote, *Hist. Gr.* xi. ch. xc. p. 308. Thirlwall, xi. lvi. 135.

τειχοποιοί. The τειχοποιοί were considered to hold a magisterial office (ἀρχή) and in that capacity had a ἡγεμονία δικαστηρίου, commencing and directing judicial proceedings within their several departments. (δίκας) αἱ ἀρχαὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτῆς ἐκάστη νόμον εἰσήγον εἰς δικαστήριον ἡγουμένη καὶ προεστῶσα, Harpocration, 91. See *Dict. Ant.* 447 a, 1099 a. ἔστι of course D. was not so in 330; here again therefore the speech originally composed in 336 seems to be used unaltered.

15 δοκιμασθέντας 'after passing the scrutiny,' which every man at Athens had to stand before entering on an office. The examination referred to his private character, his conduct to his parents, his fulfilment of religious obligations, and his Athenian birth, and the like. See Deinarchus 2 § 17. All kinds of Magistrates whether created by lot or election had to undergo a δοκιμασία, as well as the public Rhetores and the Equites, some before the Boule, others in a law court. Harpoer. s. v. δοκιμασία.

ἐγγράφειν = to give the auditors an account of his administration in writing.

τὸν γραμματέα. W. holds that this must mean the public Clerk, as the Clerk of the Logistae would not be mentioned first.

ἀναγνώσεται, sc. ὁ γραμματεὺς, cf. § 124.



16 ἀπομνημονεύειν 'to repeat by memory,' see Shilleto to Dem. *F. L.* § 14. ὑποβάλλειν 'to intimate to them in reply.' "Verbum ejus proprius est usus ad confutandas adversarii objectiones." Shilleto on Dem. *F. L.* § 101.

προσδέχεσθε, cf. § 134, σοφιστὴν § 137.

οἰόμενον...ἀναιρήσειν. *G. M. T.* § 136. ῥήμασι §§ 92, 202.

17 ἄφυκτον "cujus vis stringens effugi et declinari nequit," Reiske. "Argumentum ineluctabile." Demosthenes does use this argument very forcibly, *de Cor.* § 111.

μνᾶς ἑκατόν In the ψήφισμα, probably spurious, quoted *de Cor.* 118 (cf. Pseudo-Plutarch, 851) Demosthenes is said to have contributed three talents, or one hundred and eighty minae. Boeckh (*Staatsh.* i. 288) suggests that Aeschines confounded the sum with the ἑκατόν μνᾶς mentioned *de Cor.* 118 as contributed εἰς τὰς θυσίας.

εὐθυνα. "εὐθυνα et εὐθύνη promiscue videntur Graeci usurpasse." Shilleto to Dem. *F. L.* § 19. The former however seems to have the better authority.

τῶν καὶ ὁπωσοῦν... 'who have come forward in any way whatever for the management of public affairs.' Cf. *de Cor.* 257 and inf. § 22.

18 διδάξω δὲ... 'And this I will illustrate to you first of all by instances where it would not be expected.' ἐπὶ with the genitive, of examples. Cf. Isocr. *Plat.* 40, ἐπὶ πλειόνων παραδειγμάτων.

συλλήβδην 'collectively.' κατὰ σῶμα 'individually.' τοὺς τὰ γέρα... 'though they receive only honorary stipends,' i.e. the contributions (victims, etc. perhaps money) presented at the temples. "Reditus et vectigalia et emolumenta ipsis vi sacerdotii, quo fungebantur, propria." Reiske. τὰ γένη the families in which the priesthood was hereditary. "Familiae duae sacerdotum in sacris Eleusiniis, quarum illa ab Eumolpo, haec a Ceryce genus duxit." Bremi. *Dict. Ant.* 477 a. *Thuc.* 8, 53, 2; *Xenoph. Hellen.* 2, 4, 21.

19 οὐ τὰ κοινὰ διαχειρίσαντας... 'though they did not handle the public money.' The state supplied money for the ship's tackle, pay of soldiers etc., but it seems to have been paid not through the trierarchs but the Strategi, though the trierarchs kept the ships in repair at their own expense. *Dict. Ant.* 1160.

βραχεία δὲ κατατιθέντας 'while they lay out little,' i.e. in proper purchases. ἐπιδιδόναι δὲ 'nor profess to be making free contributions when they do but restore to you your own, but

have, as all agree, expended their patrimonies on their patriotic zeal for you.'

συνεδρίων 'assemblies' or 'boards;' such as the Five Hundred or the Areopagus.

20 καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ σκυθρωπὸν 'and brings yonder councillor, stern-visaged though he be, and arbiter in the weightiest matters, under your jurisdiction.' Weidner says, "Hic locus misere mehercule corruptus vix unquam probe sanabitur." He has in his text, ... λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας, τὸν αἰὶ σκυθρωπὸν καὶ τῶν μεγίστων κύριον ἄγων ὑπὸ τὴν ὑμετέραν ψῆφον. All the mss. have ἄγειν. For the meaning of σκυθρωπὸς indicating a look of stern and almost forbidding virtue, see Demosth. *in Steph.* § 68. Cf. Cic. *Verr. I.* x. 30, "iudex tristis (σκυθρωπός) et integer."

οὐκ ἄρα... τρυφῶσι. 'Shall not then the council of the Areopagus be rewarded with a crown? No, for it is not customary with them. What, have they no ambition? Most certainly, but one of another sort: they are not content that one of their number should abstain from injustice; but if he commit an error they punish him: your orators, on the contrary, behave like spoiled children.' So Benseler. The ambition of the Areopagus was to be spotless. This, as their duty, deserved no reward, while imperfection deserved punishment.

21 εὐθὺς ἀρχόμενος 'in the very preamble of the laws.'

μὴ ἀποδημήσω; aor. conjunc. deliberative. 'What, am I not to go abroad? No.' οὐ, οὐκουν, ἄρα οὐ presume an affirmative, μὴ, μῶν, ἄρα μὴ, a negative reply. Curtius, *Gr. Gr.* 608. 613. 2. Goodwin, *Gr.* § 282.

ἵνα γε μὴ... χρήση. Weidner's explanation of πράξεις as πράξεις πολιτικὰς is the most satisfactory. He cites Deinarch. i. 97 τὸν... τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου πράξεις ἐγκαταλελοιπότα. But even so there is a slight zeugma. Translate, 'Just so; that you may not appropriate the monies of the state or anticipate the completion of its business and run away.' The official was ὑπεύθυνος both for money received and for business undertaken on behalf of the state; his *acta* would have to be confirmed and approved as well as his accounts passed. For προλαβεῖν in the sense of "appropriate" see inf. 239. πράξεις § 106.

τὴν οὐσίαν καθιεροῦν 'to consecrate his private property.'

ἐκποίητον γενέσθαι 'nor to be adopted into another family.' *Dict. Ant.* 14 b. A person was said to be ἐκποίητος in reference to the family he left, εἰσποίητος to the family he entered. A man might not escape an obligation by an adoption into a poor family. ἐνεχυράζει 'puts a lien on,' 'takes as security.' Arist. *Nub.* 35, 241.

22 ναί, ἀλλ' ἔστι 'nay more, there are cases in which a man,' cf. §§ 28, 168.

προσῆλθε πρὸς τι τῶν κοινῶν 'undertook some public business.'

23 μὴ ἄρπαζε τὴν φιλοτιμίαν 'do not snatch (unfairly) at the honour.' For φιλοτιμία in this sense cf. inf. 45, 255. Thuc. 2, 65. Dem. 2 *Olynth.* § 3 and 16.

ἔμπροσθεν τῶν νόμων, Weidner quotes Eurip. *Orest.* 487, καὶ τῶν νόμων γε μὴ πρότερον εἶναι θέλειν.

24 οὔτοι, Ctesiphon and Demosthenes.

μέχρι δεῦρο, cf. εἰς ὅποτε § 99. μέχρι πόρρω Dem. *Cor.* § 163.

ἀρχων μὲν...τειχοποιῶν 'presiding at the time over the management of the theoric fund, and being superintendent of the repair of the walls.' The fund here spoken of was devoted to defraying the expenses of theatrical and other entertainments, generally connected with religious worship. The office held by Demosth. is not mentioned anywhere else except in the *de Cor.* 113—8.

ταῦτ' ἤδη, cf. inf. 52 n.

25 ἀντιγραφεύς 'one who keeps a counter-reckoning,' 'a check-clerk.' Pollux 8. 98, ἀντιγραφεὺς πρότερον μὲν αἰρετὸς αὐτοῖς δὲ κληρωτὸς ἦν, καὶ πάντα ἀντεγράφετο παρακαθήμενος τῇ βουλῇ, δύο δ' ἦσαν, ὁ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς ὁ δὲ τῆς διοικήσεως. The latter seems to be alluded to here, the "contrascriptor aerarii, check-clerk of the treasury," as it is hardly probable that the ἀντιγραφεὺς τῆς βουλῆς could ever have been χειροτονητός, appointed by the people. Compare Lat. contrarotulator, whence Eng. comptroller. Polybius 6, 56 mentions these check-clerks as watching over the public funds. Join ἦν with τῇ πόλει, 'the state formerly had...'

ἀπελογίζετο, 'rationes reddebat.'

Εὐβουλον, the leader of the peace party and friend of Aeschines, see Dem. *de Cor.* 118, 162. For his law forbidding the application of the theoric fund to military service see *Dict. Ant.* 1126 b, 1127 a.

Ἠγήμονος, another popular orator, a hireling of Philip's, mentioned *de Cor.* 285. Boeckh places the passing of his law between the battle of Chaeronea and the year 330. It diminished the influence of the Theoric Board, especially on the administration of naval affairs.

ἀποδεκτῶν, ten officers who received the revenue, and distributed it to the several departments. *Dict. Ant.* 103 a.



Through the influence of Eubulus the Theoric Board usurped for a time the functions of these officers.

σκευοθήκην, a storehouse for the ship's gear of the state-triremes. Cf. τοῖς σκεύεσι...ἀποθήκη, Thuc. vi. 97.

σχεδὸν τήν ὅλην, Aeschines is probably exaggerating.

27 ἐπιβολὰς ἐπέβαλλε power to impose fines to a limited amount was part of the functions of those magistrates who had an ἡγεμονία δικαστηρίου. *Dict. Ant.* 467 a.

δικαστηρίων...ἐλάμβανε 'was availing himself of his right of initiative in the several courts.' The ἡγεμονία δικαστηρίου was the right possessed by Archons and other magistrates of investigating cases in their several departments and bringing them before the courts. § 14.

θαργηλιῶνος... 'on the 29th day of the month Thargelion' [May—June]. *Dict. Ant.* 223 b.

ἀγοράν, ἀγοραί is the proper word for the assemblies of the δῆμοι and φυλαί, ἐκκλησίαι for meetings of the whole people. The singular ἀγοράν does not imply that the tribes all met in one place: only that there were meetings of the tribes at one and the same time throughout Attica. Cf. Schoemann, *de comitiis*, p. 27. ποιῆσαι, cf. §§ 67, 124, notes.

28 ναί, for the quasi-negative meaning of ναί answering to our "nay" see Shilleto, *Dem. F. L.* Appendix C. Cf. § 22.

ἀντιδιαπλέκει 'he meets me with this turn.' The metaphor is taken from the turns or twists of wrestlers. Cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* ii. 82 ὅμως μὲν σαίνων ποτὶ πάντας ἄγαν πάγχν διαπλέκει, and the more frequently occurring compounds συμπλέκεσθαι, περιπλέκεσθαι.

ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου not by the whole people, but by his tribe. Demosthenes does not raise this point of his mode of election, but urges that he was crowned for his benefaction, or extra expense, for which he was not ὑπεύθυνος.

29 δοκιμασθέντας, see § 15.

30 τριττύες, a division of the φυλή for financial purposes, as the φρατρίαι were for religious. δῆμοι, *Dict. Ant.* 392 a.

αἱροῦνται, αἵρετοί κ.τ.λ., of election by the φυλαί, χειροτονεῖν of election by the ἐκκλησία.

τούτους αἵρετοὺς ἄρχοντας εἶναι, most editors omit these words.

31 τῆς διοικήσεως, the public treasury, cf. *supra*, 25 note.

32—35 Ctesiphon, in proposing to crown Demosthenes in the theatre, has been guilty of a farther violation of the law, which commands that crowns be conferred either in the Senate-house or in the Pnyx. [Blass p. 186 conceives that this was an afterthought and was not included in the accusative of 336.]

32 **παράνομως**, take this adverb with the verb **γίγνεσθαι**, not with **κελεύει**.

33 **πρὸς τοὺς ἕξωθεν** 'in the presence of foreigners,' who would be at the exhibitions in the Theatre.' **ἐργολαβεῖν ἐν τοῖς κηρύγμασιν** 'to try to make a profit by the decrees.' The Scholiast explains, *ἵνα διὰ τοῦ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ στεφανοῦσθαι ἔχη τοὺς ἐαυτῷ παρέχοντας χρήματα ὡς δυνατῷ καὶ τιμωμένῳ ἐν τῇ πόλει*. Cf. Aeschin. i. 173, ii. 112, Dem. c. *Androt.* 49.

34 **κελεύει κ.τ.λ.** 'The lawgiver requires, that in the presence of the people in the Pnyx, in a full assembly, shall proclamation be made.' The generally accepted view as regards the site of the Pnyx is as follows. The Pnyx, or place of assembly of the Athenian people, formed part of the surface of a low rocky hill, at the distance of a quarter of a mile S. W. of the centre of the Areopagus. It may be described as an area formed by a semicircular space with radius 76 yards, containing about 11000 square yards. In the middle point of the wall of rock, which forms the chord of this semicircle, is the celebrated bema (**βῆμα**) or pulpit, often called "the stone" (Ar. *Pax*, 680), commanding a view of the Propylaea and the other magnificent edifices of the Acropolis: from it the orators addressed the multitude in the semicircular area before them.

Dr Chandler (*Travels in Greece*, Vol. ii. p. 84, ed. 1825) was the first, in 1765, to identify as the site of the Pnyx "a large semicircular area or terrace, supported by stones of a vast size cut into squares, nearly opposite the rock of the Areopagus." In 1822, the excavations made at the expense and under the direction of Lord Aberdeen brought to light the projecting cubic block, cut out of the rock, with steps on each side, alluded to above as the bema. Several German scholars (Ulrichs 1842, Welcker 1852, E. Curtius 1862 and 1868) maintain that this cubic block was an altar, and the semicircular area a *τέμενος*, of Zeus. This theory has been controverted by L. Ross 1853 and Dr Dyer (*Ancient Athens*, p. 468 and Appendix). Wachsmuth (*Stadt Athen*, i. p. 369, 1874) says it would fill a volume to go through in detail the arguments on the Pnyx question, describing it as one which had better be allowed to rest pending fortunate discovery or methodical excavation.

See also Bursian *Philologus* ix 631 f. Vischer *Erinnerungen* p. 114 ed. 1875. Milchhoefer in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, 1885, p. 157—9.

τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, dat. of time, 'in a sitting of the assembly.' Cf. inf. 45, τοῖς τραγωδοῖς. Weidner reads ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, but see Madvig, *G. S.* § 45, Thuc. i. 44, τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ (ἐκκλησίᾳ), cf. 8, 92, 2 where the difficulty of ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πληθούσῃ is probably solved by regarding the words as expressing the place and not the time. Dem. *F. L.* §§ 14—16. Cobet would omit the words.

τραγῳδῶν ἀγωνιζομένων καινῶν, that is, at the Greater Dionysia in March, see *Dict. Ant.* 412 b. Weidner prefers, as less learned and therefore more probable, the shorter reading τραγῳδῶν γιγνομένων, see inf. 41.

35—48 It will be pleaded that there is another law allowing crowns to be bestowed in the theatre: but this plea too is inadmissible. See Note A. Demosth. *de Cor.* § 120—122.

35 παραταχθεῖς, cf. παράταξι § 1.

ἐποίσει 'will bring to bear,' like military engines. Cf. Dem. 37. 36, ἂν ὅπλα ἐπιφέρει. 48. 36, αἰτίας ψευδεῖς ἐπιφέρει, and § 41. τέχνας § 28.

ἀπαγορεύουσι...μὴ κηρύττειν, see on § 10.

εἰς τὴν ἀπολογίαν 'in their defence.' *de Cor.* § 121.

κλέπτοντες τὴν ἀκρόασιν 'beguiling your ears,' i.e. by false statements or suppressions of the truth, so inf. 99, 200.

36 τραγωδοῖς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, see § 34. Cp. the Latin "gladiatoribus" for tempore ludorum gladiatoriorum. Madvig, *Lat. Gr.* § 276, Obs. 2. See on Demosth. *de Cor.* § 54.

ἐὰν ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος 'if the people shall so have voted,' i.e. the proclamation, not the crown. See Note A.

37 συνηγόρους. This word is used with allusion to the five public advocates appointed to defend the ancient laws before the Court of Heliasts, when an amendment, or a new law in abrogation thereof, was proposed. Dem. *in Timocr.* § 36; *Lept.* § 146. *Dict. Ant.* 1084 a.

παρὰ...κατηγορίαν cf. § 143 n.

παραδέδουκεν "irrepsit," intr. perf. act. This form is not quoted in Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*.

ἐν τοῖς κυρίοις 'in the midst of those which are valid.'

ἀναγεγράφθαι, cf. inf. 38, 39, 70. "ἀναγράφειν νόμους dicitur legislator cuius leges tabulis incisae publice proponantur." Reiske.

38 ἀλλ' οὐκ...μήτε...προβάλῃτε. An assertion that something is not the case is often followed by the expression of a wish that something may never happen. "It is not so, and



may you never arrive at...,” cf. Shilleto, note to Dem. *F. L.* § 163, ὡμῶν δὲ τοιοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲν οὐτ’ ἦν μήτε γένοιτο τοῦ λοιποῦ, and Soph. *Antig.* 500, 686; inf. 128.

**διορθοῦν τοὺς νόμους.** For this duty of the Thesmothetae cf. *Dict. Ant.* 123 b. This regulation is given in full in Dem. *Timocr.* 20. The function of the Thesmothetae was to detect and report any inconsistencies in the laws; the revision necessary in consequence was committed to a certain number of the dicasts of the year under the title of νομοθέται.

ἐν τῷ δήμῳ = ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

39 ἐν σανίσιν...πρόσθεν τῶν ἐπωνύμων, ‘it requires that they inscribe them on tablets and hang them up to public view before the statues of the Eponymi,’ or tutelary heroes after whom the Attic φυλαί had their names. They stood, according to Pausanias (1. 5), near the Tholus, at the foot of the Areopagus. Dyer’s *Athens*, pp. 200, 201, 213.

ποιεῖν ἐκκλησίαν, cf. §§ 67, 124, notes.

νομοθέταις, Dobree’s conjecture for νομοθέτας, now generally accepted. Translate, ‘having inscribed on the notice *For Nomothetae*,’ i.e. for the appointment of law-revisors. Cf. Dem. *Timocr.* 21. A similar dative case occurs in Dem. *F. L.* 205, ὅταν ἡ κήρυξι καὶ πρεσβείαις προγεγραμμένον ‘when notice has been published (that the Ecclesia is to be held) “for reception of” heralds and embassies.’

ἐπιστάτην τῶν προέδρων, see § 2.

τῷ δήμῳ these 500 Nomothetae acted as representatives of the whole people for the revision of the laws, so that here τῷ δήμῳ = τοῖς νομοθέταις, cf. Dem. *Timocr.* 33, τῶν δὲ νόμων τῶν κειμένων μὴ ἐξεῖναι λύσαι μηδένα, ἐὰν μὴ ἐν νομοθέταις. τότε δέ, (i.e. ἐν νομοθέταις) ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ Ἀθηναίων λύειν ἕτερον τιθέντι ἀνθ’ ὅτου ἂν λύῃ. See *Dict. Ant.* 805 b. Translate τὸν δ’ ἐπιστάτην κ.τ.λ., ‘And that the president of the proedri put the question (about the laws) to the people (i.e. the Nomothetae, their representatives), and that they (the people) annul some and retain in force others.’

40 ὁ παρὰ τούτων λόγος, so 164, ὁ παρὰ σοῦ λόγος, Dem. *c. Lept.* 75, τοῦ παρ’ ἐμοῦ λόγου. παρὰ τίνος with substantives signifying expression (λόγος) and feeling (τῆς εὐνοίας τῆς παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν, Isaeus v. 136) will be best translated by the simple genitive, ‘the argument of these men,’ ‘the goodwill of the citizens.’ Krüger, *Gr. Gr.* 68. 34. 2, παρὰ cum genitivo... originem indicans unde aliquid proficiscitur sive dictum sive factum. Cf. i. 116. Bremi.

ἀποδόντων ‘referring the matter to.’ The people decided what laws the Nomothetae should revise. Cf. Dem. *Timocr.* 21, 23.

ἀνῆρῆτ’ ἄν ‘would have been before now revoked.’ The pluperf. with ἄν indicates something that would have happened in the past, and remained so up to the present. Cf. Dem. *de Cor.* § 30.

ἤτοι...ἢ ‘either, that is to say, the one which gave authority for the proclamation, or the one which forbids.’ The addition of τοι implies that the speaker prefers or attaches more weight to the former alternative. Cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1182. Frequently, γε is added. Plat. *Apol.* 27 ἤτοι θεοὺς γε ἡγούμεθα ἢ θεῶν παῖδας. Denique non ἤ...ἤτοι sed ἤτοι...ἢ dicitur. Lobeck, Soph. *Aj.* 117. Except Pind. *Nem.* vi. 5.

41 ἐπιφέρουσι, cf. supr. 35.

γιννομένων...τραγῳδῶν ‘when the play is on the point of commencing.’ The phrase seems to have been literal at first, when poets were their own actors, “quum poetae se tragoedos praestant.” This is Weidner’s explanation. Cf. Liddell and Scott, s.v. *τραγῳδός*, and § 154.

ἕτεροι δ’ ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν, Cobet and Weidner here read ἕτεροι δ’ ὅτι ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν, so infr. 178 ἂν ὁμολογήσαιτε ὅτι ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων..., and 208 ὑποβάλλετε ὅτι ᾧ Δημόσθενες.... The analogy of 193 οὐχ ὡς...ἄλλ’ ὡς, is in favour of this reading.

ὑποκηρυξάμενοι ‘having caused proclamation to be made.’ Victorius margini Venet. adscripsit διὰ κήρυκος ἀφέντες· ἐβόα γὰρ ὁ κήρυξ· ὁ δεῖνα τὸν δεῖνα ἡλευθέρωσε. Bremi.

ἐλευθέρους, so the editors following Cobet read for ἀπελευθέρους as the only possible Attic Greek in combination with the verb ἀφίημι.

τῆς ἀπελευθερίας—*manumissionis*. Cob. W. omit it.

42 προξενίας the connexion between an individual and a state was *προξενία*, that between two individuals or two states was *ξενία*. εὐρημένοι, ‘who have earned,’ ‘obtained.’ So of other honours and rewards, cp. § 196, and Dem. *c. Lept.* 15.

διεπράττοντο ἀναγορεύεσθαι ‘tried to manage that proclamation should be made.’ διαπράττεσθαι, to try to get a thing done for oneself, generally by underhand means. Cf. inf. 179, 232. Cf. Lysias 7 § 12.

πέισαντες ὑμᾶς a common formula, cf. Arist. *Plut.* 949 οὔτε τὴν βουλὴν πῶν τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν οὔτε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. See Cobet *Nov. Lect.* p. 486.

χάριν καταθέμενοι 'laying up for themselves (as an investment which will bring in abundant interest) a large amount of gratitude.' Cf. Thuc. 1, 33 ὡς ἂν μετ' ἀειμνήστον μαρτυρίου τὴν χάριν καταθεῖσθε. 4, 87 αἰδίων δόξαν καταθέσθαι. It is common in Herodotus, see 6, 41; 7, 178; 9, 60.

43 μείζοσι τιμᾶσθαι, several mss. give μείζοσι τιμαῖς τιμᾶσθαι. The omission is explained by reference to Aeschylus, *Ag.* 1618 (Paley) *ζεῦζω βαρελαῖς* sc. *ζεῦγλαῖς*. Hermann adds in his note on the passage—"Sic in Aeschinis oratione contra Ctesiph. § 43 quum plerique codices praebeant μείζοσι τιμᾶσθαι, facile apparet additum τιμαῖς interpreti deberi." See also Paley's note to Aesch. *Ag.* 1316.

45 ὅταν οὖν ἀποδείξῃ...ἀναρρηθῆναι 'since therefore (the legislator), in the case of those who from time to time are crowned by the senate, has appointed the senate-house as the place of proclamation'...Lit. 'that they go to the senate-house and be proclaimed.' For the pregnant use of *εἰς* see § 71. Usener would strike out *εἰς* before τὸ βουλευτήριον and τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. This would much simplify the passage. Cobet would cut out στεφανουμένοις in the two last clauses.

τοῖς τραγωδοῖς, cf. § 34. ἀπέπη μὴ § 10.

ἐρανίζων 'collecting subscriptions of,' cf. Aeschin. ii. 41, τῷ μὲν ἔρανον συστήσειν ἐπηγγέλλετο='promised to get up a subscription for him,' and § 251.

κτᾶται (subj.) 'may try to obtain.'

προσαπέπη δὲ...δημοτῶν 'since he has furthermore enacted in the law that no proclamation be made by any other, except, (or besides) the senate, the people, and the members of the individual's own tribe or borough.' ἀπούσης si desit senatus, i.e. si excipiat senatus, praeter senatum: haec significatio ex primaria verbi notione sponte enascitur. Cf. inf. 71. Bremi.

The words ἀπούσης βουλῆς καὶ δήμου καὶ φυλετῶν καὶ δημοτῶν are generally suspected of being a marginal explanation of the following ὅταν δέ τις ταῦτα ἀφέλῃ which has crept into the text. So Taylor ed. 1769. He adds however, 'Sed videat lector. Nam hoc non ex tripode.'

46 ἱερὸν εἶναι...ὁ νόμος 'The law takes from the person crowned and orders its consecration to Athena.'

τίς ἂν ὑμῶν τολμήσειε...Ἀθηναίων; 'which of you would venture to impute such illiberality to the people of Athens?' καταγνῶναι τι τινός so Aeschin. i. 165 κατέγνωκε τοῦ πράξαντος αἰσχύνῃ. Cf. Thuc. 3, 16, 1 διὰ κατάγνωσιν ἀσθενείας σφῶν=διὰ



τὸ καταγιγνώσκειν σφῶν ἀσθένειαν, and 8, 8, 4 καταφρονήσαντες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀδυνασίαν 'imputing powerlessness to the Athenians.'

μὴ γὰρ ὅτι, ellipse for μὴ γὰρ εἶπω ὅτι, 'to say nothing of,' 'not to mention,' cf. Xen. *Cyr.* vii. 2. 17 μὴ ὅτι θεὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄνθρωποι καλοὶ κάγαθοὶ οὐ φιλοῦσι τοὺς ἀπίστούντας. Cp. § 167.

47 κекτήσθαι 'to possess,' 'to retain it.'

προσέθηκεν...μὴ κηρύττεσθαι. The addition referred to is contained in the clause (§ 45) προσαπίπη δὲ...μηδ' ὑπὸ ἄλλου μηδενὸς ἀνακηρύττεσθαι. Hence Weidner reads here μηδὲ for μῆ.

τὸν ἀλλότριον στέφανον 'the crown bestowed by a foreign state.'

ἵνα κηρυττόμενος...ὑμῖν 'that when proclamation of his name is made, he may feel more gratitude to you than to the donors of the crown.' For the construction τῶν στεφανούντων=ἡ τοῖς αὐτὸν στεφανοῦσιν cf. Thuc. 1, 85, 2 μᾶλλον ἐτέρων=μᾶλλον ἢ ἐτέροις. Madvig, *Syntax*, § 90. Cobet would read here ὡς ὁ κηρυττόμενος.

48 προσγέγραπται...στεφανοῦν 'that a clause is annexed to the law which makes it lawful to confer a crown.' Of course ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ is implied.

ἀπομνημονεύετε ὑποβάλλειν 'do not forget to reply,' cf. § 23. ἀπομνημονεύειν 'to remember,' cf. § 208, note.

ναί, cf. § 28, note.

τὸ γὰρ ἄλλοθι δὲ κ.τ.λ. 'Yes, you may explain the meaning of the expression "and nowhere else" all day long if you like, for you will never prove that your motion is in accordance with the laws.'

§§ 49, 50 introduce the third and most important count the illegality of the decree of Ctesiphon on account of its false statement of the merits of Demosthenes.

49 ἐφ' ᾧ...σπουδάζω. ἐπὶ takes the dative in the expression of feeling or opinion. So with χαίρω, θαυμάζω, cf. § 228.

πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας 'in the presence of the Greeks.' Cobet would expunge these words, on the ground that a decree could not possibly have referred to 'the Greeks' in this connexion, who could not have been formally recognised as concerned in an Athenian matter. *Nov. lect.* p. 48.

διατελεῖ λέγων καὶ πράττων, the regular formula, cf. Dem. *de Cor.* 57, 59, etc.

50 ἀπλοῦς ‘simple,’ as in the famous line of Euripides, ἀπλοῦς ὁ μῦθος τῆς ἀληθείας ἔφν, *Phoen.* 469.

τὸν μὲν κατηγοροῦντα ἐμέ ‘me the accuser.’ For κατηγορεῖν ‘to be an accuser’ cf. Arist. *Vesp.* 840 σὺ δὲ κατηγορεῖ παρών.

οἱ κατὰ Δημοσθένους ἔπαινοι, κατὰ with the genitive properly of motion *down upon*. Hence of the subject of praise or blame, more usually the latter, but sometimes, as here, of praise, ‘encomia,’ ‘eulogies upon:’ cf. §§ 124, 241, *Dem. de Cor.* § 215. Aeschin. i. § 169. Then, generally, κατὰ c. gen. = *quod attinet ad* without implying praise or blame, § 59.

τὴν γραφὴν ἀλώσεται ‘will be convicted on the indictment.’ Cf. *Dem. c. Mid.* § 105, λιποταξίου γραφὴν ἡλωκέναι.

ψευδῇ γράμματα ἐγγράφειν. For this Weidner reads ψευδῇ γράφειν, with some ms. support. It is difficult to attach any precise meaning to γράμματα. And there can be no allusion here to the offence called ψευδεγγραφή. But the drift of the passage is clear, ‘to support by false statements a proposal concerning which the people will have to vote.’ It is plain that Aeschines is now advancing a proposition which is no longer a question of law but of opinion. He therefore does not quote a particular law but appeals to the spirit of all the laws. The particular regulation to which he alludes was against *falsifying entries* in written laws. It could have nothing to do with the character of the person proposed to be honoured. This part of his speech would have been in point if spoken to oppose Ctesiphon’s decree, but is not in point on a γράφῃ παρανόμων. It is, however, the principal point of interest to a popular audience.

τῷ ἀπολογουμένῳ ‘the defendant.’

51—53 Aeschines first touches on the private life of Demosthenes. But though it contains many discreditable incidents, he quickly passes them by as likely to seem ἀρχαῖα καὶ λίαν ὁμολογούμενα. This is the figure παρασιώπησις. “Hoc est, cum aliquid nos reticere dicimus, et tamen tacitum intelligitur. Et hoc utendum est, cum aut notam rem auditoribus arbitramur, aut suspicionem excitare maiorem reticendo possumus.” *Rutilius Lupus*, ii. 11. For the reply of Demosthenes see *de Cor.* § 10.

51 τὸν μὲν βίον, μὲν followed by δὲ in § 54, περὶ δὲ κ.τ.λ.

τὴν τοῦ τραύματος γραφὴν. Demomeles was the son of Demon the uncle of Demosthenes, cf. *Dem. c. Aphob.* ii. § 15. The father of Demosthenes lent him 1600 drachmae, *c. Aph.* i. § 11. His brother Demophon and cousin Aphobus

were joint guardians of Demosthenes, who seems to have been assaulted by Demomeles during his prosecution of Aphobus. Aeschines gives his view of the circumstances more fully in II. 93, ὑπέμεινας τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου οὐκ ἐπεξιὼν τῇ τοῦ τραύματος γραφῇ, ἣν ἐγράψω Δημομέλην τὸν Παιανέα ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα, ἐπιτεμὼν τὴν σαντοῦ κεφαλὴν. The Scholiast adds καὶ λαβὼν ἀργύριον οὐχ εἶλε τὴν δίκην ἀλλὰ διελύσατο, cf. § 51, ἀπέδοτο. Such causes were tried before the Areopagus, and it was required that malice aforethought (πρόνοια) should be proved; a similar case is mentioned Dem. c. Boeot. II. § 32, ἐπιτεμὼν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ τραύματος εἰς Ἀρείου πάγον με προσεκαλέσατο. If this is the Demomeles mentioned Dem. de Cor. 223, there must have been a complete reconciliation between him and Demosthenes.

Cephisodotus was an Athenian general sent out with a squadron to the Hellespont, 359 B.C., for the purpose of re-annexing the Chersonesus to the Athenian dominion. He was compelled to conclude a most disgraceful convention with Charidemus the Euboean freebooter. For this he was brought to trial and fined five talents. Demosthenes appears to have sailed with the squadron, and to have had the general on board the ship which he had equipped as trierarch. Dem. c. Aristocrat. § 167, Grote x. 137.

52 συσσιτῶν...συσπένδων and therefore bound by the closest ties to him. πατρικὸς φίλος 'an hereditary friend.' "πατρικὸς non ad solum patrem coartatur sed est a maioribus relictus. τὰς πατρικὰς ἀρετὰς, Thuc. VII. 69. Eadem ratio est, quum πατρικὸς φίλος, πλούτος et alia huius modi dicuntur." Duker. ad Thuc. VIII. 6.

οὐκ ὤκνησε...γενέσθαι 'He did not hesitate, when Cephisodotus was on his trial on a capital charge in pursuance of an indictment, to come forward as his accuser.' ἀπ' εἰσαγγελίας κρινομένου. Weidner quotes the same expression in Hyperid. Euxenipp. col. 19, ἀπ' εἰσαγγελίας τινὰ κρινόμενον. ἀπό, c. gen. of the occasion. There is a similar use in Thuc. I. 12, ἀπὸ στάσεων ἐκπίπτοντες. I. 24, ἀπὸ πολέμου τινὸς ἐφθάρησαν. The same expression ἀπ' εἰσαγγελίας recurs in §§ 79, 171.

καὶ ταῦτα ἤδη 'and to cap all the affair of Midias.' ἤδη expresses a climax (atque adeo, iam vero illud), as often, alone, or in combination with καί or the demonstrative, or, as in this instance, with both. §§ 24, 106, 129, 145, 193. Soph. El. 92, 1115. Thuc. I. 18, 75. Hdt. VII. 35. Plant. Captiv. I. ii. 61, "Iam maritimi omnes milites opus sunt tibi." For the intimate phonetical connexion between δὴ and iam, see Curtius, Gk. Etymology, Vol. II. p. 275, Eng. transl. Cp. its use with superlatives Herod. 8, 105, 106 μέγιστη τίσις ἤδη...ἤδη μάλιστα.



τὸ περὶ Μιδίαν. Midias, an Athenian of wealth and influence, was a violent enemy of Demosthenes, and annoyed him in every possible way: he finally struck him with his fist (τοὺς κονδύλους) as he was discharging the duties of a choregus, during the celebration of the greater Dionysia. Demosthenes arraigned him before the people for committing a contempt of the festival and obtained a preliminary vote of condemnation (καταχειροτονίαν, see *Dict. Ant.* 271 a), but afterwards compromised the case on receiving 30 minae. As a rule all compromise of an action once commenced was illegal and punishable. *Dem. c. Mid.* § 47, p. 529. *Pseudo-Dem. c. Theocrin.* §§ 6, 12. *Aesch. ii.* 93, quoted *supr.* 51 note. But the law was not always enforced, through neglect on the part of the εἰσαγωγεὺς for the time being or other causes. *Dem. c. Mid.* § 39, p. 526. *Pseudo-Dem. c. Neaer.* §§ 53, 68. *Hudtwaleker, Dietetæe*, pp. 159—168.

ἀπέδοτο τριάκοντα μνῶν ‘sold for 30 minae.’ Aeschines of course implies by this expression that Demosthenes meanly accepted a small sum in compensation for the insult and made a petty profit out of the transaction. He repeats the suggestion § 212. We can hardly doubt the fact that Demosthenes accepted 30 minae from Midias. But we have no ground for accepting or rejecting the interpretation Aeschines puts upon it, except the opinion of two ancient writers. *Plutarch, Dem.* xii. Ὅρων δ’ οὐ φαῦλον οὐδὲ τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως ἔργον ἄνδρα καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ φίλοις εὖ πεφραγμένον καθελεῖν, τὸν Μειδίαν, ἐνέδωκε τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δεομένοις. Αἱ δὲ τρισχίλια (sc. δραχμαὶ=τριάκοντα μναὶ) καθ’ ἑαυτὰς οὐκ ἂν μοι δοκοῦσι τὴν Δημοσθένους ἀμβλῦναι πικρίαν, ἐλπίζοντος καὶ δυναμένου περιγενέσθαι. And *Isidorus of Pelusium*, a Christian writer of the fifth century, *Epist.* iv. 205, οὐ γάρ τι λαβὼν, ὡς Αἰσχίνης ἔφη, ἀπέδοτο τὴν καταχειροτονίαν· οὐ γὰρ δέχεται τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς αἰσχροκερδείας ἢ μεγαλοψυχία τοῦ ρήτορος. See *A. Schaefer, Dem. u. seine Zeit*, ii. 102, and *Grote*, Vol. x. ch. lxxxviii. p. 148.

53 τὸν ἀγῶνα καταχαριζόμενος ‘sacrificing the contest to oblige some one.’ Verbs in composition with κατὰ followed by an accusative sometimes mean ‘to bring (down) to the ground, to destruction, someone or something by this or that course of action;’ it is an extension of the idea of completion conveyed by κατὰ in composition with verbs followed by an accusative. Cf. §§ 66—7, 80, 178. *Dem. de Chers.* § 52; καταπολιτεύεσθαι. Cf. *Dem. F. L.* 315 (362).

μή μοι παρ’ ὑμῶν ἀπαντήσῃ, ‘ne mihi a vobis occurratur,’ Taylor, ‘lest you should make this objection, that—’ Cf.

Hypereid. II. 1, καὶ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ἀπαντάτω μοι μεταξὺ λέγοντι τί τοῦθ' ἡμῖν λέγεις;

δοκεῖν μὲν ἀληθῆ. Here Weidner and Schultz adopt Cobet's transposition ἀληθῆ μὲν. And again § 184 ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ πρώτῳ for ἐπὶ τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ. But on this principle "innumerabiles sane loci mutandi erunt." Franke, Aesch. I. 177 (in praefatione). For instance, Soph. Phil. 617:

οἷοιτο μὲν μάλισθ' ἐκούσιον λαβῶν,

εἰ μὴ θέλοι δ', ἄκοντα,

quoted by Büchsenschütz to Xen. Hell. I. IV. 4, ἐβούλοντο μὲν μάλιστα... εἰ δὲ μή,... cp. § 96; Herod. 8, 103—4 ταύτην μὲν... συνέπεμπε δέ.

ψέγεσθαι 'to be censured.' "Expectares ἀτιμῶσθαι ὑπερορίζεσθαι (inf. 131) vel saltem δίκην δοῦναι." Dobr. Weidner thinks a perfect infinitive is required, referring to Plat. Phaedr. 62 A, οἷς βέλτιον τεθνάναι ἢ ζῆν, and reads ἐκβεβλήσθαι. But perhaps ψέγεσθαι may be explained as an instance of *litotes*—the suggestion of a strong notion by the use of a weak word. And much of the effect of the word would depend on the accent (probably ironical) with which it was uttered. "Or to be—censured?"

54—167 The public life of Demosthenes now occupies the orator's attention. He adopts a fourfold division of it, something like that which Demosthenes may very possibly have made in conversation. Schol. οὐχ ὡς αὐτὸς ταύτην ποιούμενος τὴν διαίρεισιν τῆς κατηγορίας ποιεῖται τὸν λόγον, ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτοῦ Δημοσθένους χρώμενου ταύτῃ τῇ τῶν καιρῶν διαιρέσει, ἵνα ὁ λόγος αὐτῷ ἀνεπίφθοнос γένηται. The four periods are (1) B.C. 357—346. That is from the time of Philip's first offensive measure in regard to Amphipolis to the Peace at the end of the Sacred War. (2) B.C. 346—340, during which Philip was constantly working against the interests of Athens especially in the Chersonese, and Demosthenes was actively opposing him until the outbreak of the Amphissian war. (3) B.C. 340—338, from the Amphissian war to the battle of Chaeroneia. (4) B.C. 338—330, from the battle of Chaeroneia up to the time of the delivery of the speech, a period in which Demosthenes was much less active and prominent. It includes the death of Philip, and the measures of Alexander for the punishment of Thebes and the suppression of risings in Greece. Grote XII. p. 111.

54 ἐπειδὴν αὐτοῖς ὁ λόγος ἀποδοθῇ 'when their turn comes to speak.' Cf. Aeschin. I. 162, ἀποδοθέντος τοῦ ὕδατος αὐτῷ καὶ λόγου. Dem. c. Eubul. 16, εἰ λόγος ἀποδοθήσοιτο. αὐτοῖς, Ctesiphon and Demosthenes, Ctesiphon first, then Demosthenes as his *συνήγορος*. Cf. Aeschin. II. 184, παρακαλῶ δ' Εὐβούλον μὲν ἐκ τῶν πολιτικῶν καὶ σωφρόνων ἀνδρῶν συνήγορον, Φωκίωνα δ' ἐκ γῶν στρατηγῶν.

ἐν οἷς αὐτὸς πεπολίτευται 'in which he has been personally engaged as a statesman.' The αὐτὸς is emphatic: in the oratio recta the emphatic ἐγὼ would have been used.

τῇ γενομένῃ εἰρήνῃ, Schol. ἀντὶ τοῦ μέχρι τῆς γενομένης εἰρήνης, συλλαμβάνων καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν εἰρήνην.

55 ἤγομεν τὴν εἰρήνην 'we were maintaining the peace.' Weidner draws a distinction between ἄγειν εἰρήνην and ἔχειν εἰρήνην to the effect that the former expression is used where one can choose between peace and war, the latter where peace is the concession of an enemy. He quotes Isocr. viii. 25, ἡγοῦμαι δὲ δεῖν ἡμᾶς οὐ μόνον ψηφισαμένους τὴν εἰρήνην ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπελθεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ βουλευσαμένους ὅπως ἄξομεν αὐτήν. Cp. also [Dem.] 4 *Phil.* § 23.

τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν εἰρήνην τῇ πόλει 'the (advantageous) peace which the state had.' So ὑπάρχειν τινί very frequently of a solid advantage which one has existing, to start with, cf. § 168 Dem. *de Cor.* 174.

ἐγκαλύπτωμαι 'cover my face,' as a mark of shame. The word occurs in this sense in both of the other speeches of Aeschines, cf. i. 26, ii. 107. In Latin, "capite obvoluto, operto" implies despair. Liv. iv. 12, Hor. *Sat.* ii. iii. 37.

ἀποδιδράσκω 'try to shirk his invitation like a cowardly runaway slave.' Cf. Dem. *c. Mid.* 165, οὐκ ἀπέδρα τὴν στρατείαν. C. *Boeot.* ii. 54 ἀποδιδράσκειν τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

56 ἰσχυρίζεται 'insist positively' on this, as a strong point, cf. Thuc. iii. 44, iv. 23, vii. 49.

ἐγὼ ἀποκρίνομαι. The mss. have ἐγὼ τε ἀποκρίνωμαι. Taylor reads ἐγὼ δὴ ἀποκρίνομαι, Weidner ἐγὼ τοι ἀποκρίνομαι, adding δὴ after the second ἀποκρίνομαι.

ἐπακούειν. The conjecture of Markland followed by Cobet and Weidner for ὑπακούειν of the mss. Cf. supr. 8, οἱ ἐπακούουσι τῇσδε τῆς κρίσεως. ὑπακούειν is used by Aeschines as a technical term of a witness who appears when called for, i. 47, 49; by other writers generally (1) of a servant who attends to and answers knocks at a door, cf. Plat. *Crito*, 43 A; (2) 'of hearkening to' or 'obeying.' Thucyd. 5, 98.

οὐκ ὀλίγους. Cic. *de opt. gen. orat.* § 22, "ad quod iudicium concursus dicitur e tota Graecia factus esse. Quid enim tam aut visendum aut audiendum fuit, quam summorum oratorum in gravissima caussa accurata et inimicitiiis incensa contentio?" Cf. Cic. *Brut.* 289, Dem. *de Cor.* §§ 1, 196.

57 ἐξ ἴσου 'impartially,' as they were bound to do by their oath. Cf. Dem. *c. Timocr.* § 151, καὶ ἀκρόασομαι τοῦ τε κατηγοροῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀπολογουμένου ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν. ἐξ, cf. § 88. Eurip. ap. Plut. *N. C.* ὅτ' ἦν τὰ θεῶν ἐξ ἴσου ἀμφοτέροις.



δύνωμαι, as though to remember and recount the misdeeds of Demosthenes was no ordinary task. Cf. § 260.

ἀπομνημονεύσαι, cf. *supr.* 16. προσδοκῶ Cob. μοι δοκῶ.

τοὺς θεούς, cf. *Dem. de Cor.* 212.

τοὺς φιλανθρώπως, Philip and Alexander, not Aeschines and his party. Cf. *Dem. de Cor.* 231, 298; and *infr.* 159, 227, *Aeschin.* ii. 13, for the *φιλανθρωπία* of Philip. The word *φιλανθρωπία* begins to be used about this time with special reference to the conduct of rulers, probably in consequence of Athenian intercourse with Philip. Cf. *Aeschin.* ii. 40.

αἰτίους γεγενημένους—[αἷτιον γεγενημένον]. *Nihil auribus ingratius accidere, potest, quam huiusmodi ὁμοιοτέλευτα. Ergo si quis duas postremas voces rescindere velit, licebit sane, quantum per me poterit.* Taylor. Schultz and Weidner follow this suggestion.

καὶ δὴ ‘accordingly.’

ἐπανάγω ἐμαυτὸν ‘I now make my appeal to.’ Cf. *Ar. Nub.* 1080. *Dem. de Cor.* 224.

§§ 58 to 83 discuss the peace of Philocrates (346 B.C.); τὴν προτέραν ἐκείνην εἰρήνην in opposition to the peace of Demades after the battle of Chaeroneia (338 B.C.).

58 εἴ τινες..Ἑλλάδα. “After the capture of Olynthus (B.C. 348), the Athenians sent forth envoys throughout a large portion of Greece, urging the various cities to unite with them either in conjoint war against Philip, or conjoint peace to obtain some mutual guarantee against his further encroachments. Aeschines strenuously upheld the mission, and was himself named as one of the envoys into Peloponnesus.” Grote, Vol. xi. c. LXXXIX. pp. 192, 170. Eubulus proposed this measure. Cf. *Dem. F. L.* §§ 10, 347.

παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ Φίλιππον, repeated §§ 64, 68. Demosthenes (*de Cor.* 23) says that there was no such embassy. Weidner calls this denial an *audacissimum mendacium*. Cf. also Grote, Vol. xi. pp. 197—8, note 1.

διὰ Δημοσθένην ‘owing to Demosthenes.’ διὰ c. acc. of the non-immediate agent or instrument. §§ 70, 156. *Dem. de Cor.* 49, 249.

καὶ τὰς τούτων δωροδοκίας, καὶ frequently combines the whole with the part specially considered, cf. *Soph. Aj.* 1147, καὶ σὲ καὶ τὸ σὸν λαβρὸν στόμα. *Dem. in Mid.* 96, καὶ ταῦτα πέπονθεν ὑπὸ Μειδίου καὶ τοῦ Μειδίου πλούτου καὶ τῆς ὑπερηφανίας.

δωροδοκίας Grote (xi. 197 note) calls this ‘a charge utterly futile and incredible.’

συστάντες ἐπὶ 'conspiring against.' Cf. 60 and Thuc. viii. 65, 73.

§§ 59—61 Aeschines wishes to shew that Demosthenes hurried on a peace with Philip before the Athenians could obtain an answer from the Greek states to the proposal mentioned in the last section. As he is speaking of the events of 16 years ago, he fears that his statement, contrasted with the usual policy of Demosthenes, may seem to his audience somewhat incredible (ἀπιστότερος), and avails himself of a simile to illustrate and justify his position.

59 ἐκείνως...λογισμούς 'give the sequel of my discourse such (ἐκείνως referring to what follows as § 168) a hearing as we are wont to do when we sit down after a long interval to settle our accounts concerning moneys expended.' Cf. Dem. de Cor. 227. κατὰ τῶν λογισμῶν, cf. § 50 note.

δύσκολος 'hard to satisfy,' 'fond of raising difficulties.' Cf. the opposite εὐκολος 'contented,' Ar. Ran. 82.

ἀπέρχεται...ὁμολογήσας 'he finally acknowledges,' cp. Dem. de Cor. §§ 124, 144; and comp. the use of ἀπαλλάσσεισθαι.

αἶρῃ 'proves,' (evincit, Reiske.) Cf. αἰρεῖτε, § 156, in a slightly different sense.

60 ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνων. This is to be taken with ἔχοντες τὴν δόξαν, 'impressed with the idea derived from former times.'

ὡς ἄρα, cf. supr. 13 note.

ὅστις διακεῖται, not ὅστις ἂν c. coni. because many of the audience actually did hold such an opinion.

ἀπογνώτω...καταγνώτω. Judicandi verba quae cum ἀπό composita sunt, significationem habent absolvendi, quae cum κατὰ condemnandi. Bremi.

διὰ βραχείων ἀκούσητε 'hear me in brief.' Cf. Dem. Phil. ii. 6. διὰ c. gen. of the extent of time. So with verbs of saying, § 69. Cf. breviter audire Verg. Aen. ii. 11. Note ἐὰν thrice repeated, so § 167.

ἐγκαταλαμβάνη 'prove inevitably that,' literally 'catch as though in a trap.' Cf. § 239 ἐγκαταληφθεὶς ὑπὸ κινδύνων. § 91 τεθνάναι ἐγκαταληφθέντι. Lyeurg. c. Leocr. 95.

61 ἔκδοτον ποιεῖν 'to surrender,' 'to sacrifice,' inf. 73, 143. Dem. c. Aristocr. 140. Weidner omits Φιλίππῳ.

Κερσοβλέπτην, son and successor of Cotys king of Thrace; as an ally of Athens he was constantly involved in war with Philip, by whom he was finally overcome and made tributary, B.C. 343. Cf. §§ 65, 74.

62 ἔγραψε Φιλοκράτης. This was on the return of Ctesiphon and Phrynon with an encouraging report from the camp of Philip, B.C. 348. Grote, xi. 175. Aeschines gives a fuller account in his speech *De Fals. Leg.* §§ 13, 14.

ἐγράφη παρανόμων 'was impeached as an illegal proposition,' most likely as setting aside a previous decree refusing to receive a herald and envoys from Philip. But there is no warrant in Aesch. ii. 13, (the only reference he gives,) for the minute details of Weidner's note, *Vixdum Amphipoli a Philippo* (357) *capta Athenienses saevissimam rogationem tulerant qua ille aut caduceatorem aut legatos Athenas mittere prohiberetur*. Mitford says the same thing in nearly the same words and refers to the same passage. Thirlwall criticizes Mitford as follows, quoting his words (ch. XLIV. Vol. v. p. 332 note), "But at least if he (Aeschines) had meant to speak of 'a savage decree forbidding the entrance of a herald from Macedonia upon the Athenian territory' he would not have used such an expression as πρότερον καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἐκωλύετο ὑπὸ τινῶν." Schaefer (ii. p. 22, note 1) agrees with Mitford and Weidner. He refers to Dem. *Phil.* i. § 43. Curtius also is circumstantial with regard to this decree (*Hist. of Greece*, Vol. v. p. 293, Eng. trans. "This (the motion of Philocrates) contravened a previous proposal which, in accordance with a precedent of earlier times (Vol. ii. p. 300 [310?]) had made penal any negotiation with the enemy of the land." Grote is silent on the subject.

ἀπελογεῖτο...συναπελογεῖτο, cf. Aesch. ii. 14 ἀρρώστως δ' ἔχων ὁ Φιλοκράτης ἐκάλεσεν αὐτῷ συνήγορον τὸν Δημοσθένην. The two statements can hardly be pronounced inconsistent. The word ἐκάλεσεν suggests that Philocrates was present and at least began his defence himself.

χρόνος Θεμιστοκλῆς ἄρχων=347 B.C. Θεμ. ἄρχων defines more precisely the preceding χρόνος. Cf. Andocides i. 96, ἄρχει χρόνος τοῦδε τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἢ βουλή οἱ πεντακόσιοι οἱ λαχόντες τῷ κυάμῳ. The construction is very unusual.

οὔτε λαχὼν οὔτ' ἐπιλαχὼν 'neither as a member nor as a substitute.' According to Harpocration (s. v. ἐπιλαχὼν) there was a second drawing of lots, so that if a candidate for the office of ἄρχων or βουλευτῆς, who had been successful on the first drawing, died or was rejected on scrutiny (ἀποδοκιμασθῇ, *Dict. Ant.* 419 b), a substitute might be ready to take his place.

ἐκ παρασκευῆς πριάμενος 'having purchased it by intrigue,' cf. *supr.* 3. Aeschines makes the same charge against Timarchus i. 106, οὐκ ἔστιν ἥντινα πώποτ' οὐκ ἤρξεν ἀρχήν, οὐδεμίαν λαχὼν οὐδὲ χειροτονηθεὶς ἀλλὰ πάσας παρὰ τοὺς νόμους



πρίδμενος. How this could be done in the case of officers appointed by lot does not appear.

εἰς ὑποδοχὴν Φιλοκράτει 'to second,' 'support Philocrates,' to take up and carry on the part he was playing. So Reiske, and this sense suits the context best. The word however might mean 'to shelter,' 'harbour.' Cf. Eur. *Iph. A.* 1229, ἐμῶν φίλαισιν ὑποδοχαῖς δόμων. Xen. *de Vect.* 3. 1, ἡ πόλις ναυσὶ καλλίστας καὶ ἀσφαλεστάτας ὑποδοχὰς ἔχει. Polybius, 32, 11, 10.

ὡς αὐτὸ ἔδειξε τὸ ἔργον, cf. inf. 141, i. 40, ii. 13.

63 νικᾷ ἕτερον ψήφισμα 'carries (in spite of opposition) another resolution.' Cf. νικᾷν δίκαια κᾶδικα, Ar. *Nub.* 99.

δέκα πρέσβεις. Their names are given in the second Argument of Dem. *De Fals. Leg.*, Philocrates, the proposer of the resolution, Ctesiphon, the oldest of the ten, Phrynon, Aristodemus, Aeschines, Demosthenes are the most noteworthy. See Grote, xi. pp. 184 ff.

ἐπαινέτης ἦν τῆς εἰρήνης. The peace of Philocrates was concluded in March, 346 B.C. In § 174 of his speech against Timarchus delivered in that year (Grote, xi. 173 note), Aeschines speaks of τὴν εἰρήνην τὴν δι' ἐμοῦ καὶ Φιλοκράτους γεγενημένην. But "the peace having disappointed every one's hopes came speedily to be regarded with shame and regret, of which Philocrates bore the brunt as its chief author. Both Aeschines and Demosthenes sought to cast upon each other the imputation of confederacy with Philocrates" (Grote, xi. pp. 198, 237, 238), so in § 56 of Aeschines *De Falsa Legatione* (343 B.C.) τὴν μὲν τοίνυν κοινωνίαν τῶν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης πραξέων οὐκ ἐμὴν καὶ Φιλοκράτους, ἀλλὰ Δημοσθένους καὶ Φιλοκράτους εὐρίσκετε, cf. Dem. *de Cor.* 17, 21, *De Fals. Leg.* 8.

ταῦτά...ἀπήγγελλε, Aeschines gives more detail about the report of Demosthenes in his speech *De Fals. Leg.* §§ 45—54. He there attributes language to Demosthenes which may be described as "censorious and even insulting towards his colleagues," but nothing, as far as I can see, contradictory of the statement in the text, that the report of Demosthenes was substantially the same as that of his colleagues. See however Grote, Vol. xi. pp. 190, 191, and Dem. *F. L.* 253, 254.

σπένδεσθαί τινι, here 'to give (in the name of the state) pledges for his safe conduct.'

64 τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα, adverbial accusative, 'now as to what followed,' cf. Plat. *Gorg.* 512 E, τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦτο σκεπτόμενον τίν' αὖν τρόπον κ.τ.λ.

ἐπράττετο γὰρ... Δημοσθένην 'negotiations were entered into (by Philip) not with the rest of the envoys, who afterwards, on a change of circumstances, were grossly calumniated by Demosthenes, but with Philocrates and Demosthenes.' μεταβολῆς cf. inf. 79, 80.

ὅπως μὴ περιμείνητε... ψηφιεῖσθε, see Goodwin, *M. T.* pp. 73, 74. Both constructions are possible, and the variation seems only due to taste. The subjunctive and future after a verb in an historic tense (ἐπράττετο) is on the dramatic principle of using the very words of the persons referred to.

65 συμμαχίαν, cf. *Dem. de F. L.* § 40.

προσέχοιεν τῷ πλήθει τῷ ὑμετέρῳ 'were watching the tendency of public feeling at Athens.' προσέχειν in this sense is not always followed by τὸν νοῦν. Cf. *Dem.* i. 6, ii. 13.

ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, more precisely *Aeschin.* ii. 57.

Κερσοβλήπτης, see § 74. At first joint king and then sole king of Thrace. See *Demosth. c. Aristocr.* § 8 sqq.

παρηγγέλλετο... στρατεία 'an expedition was already being levied against him.' Cf. inf. 90, ii. 82. "At the moment when the envoys were quitting Pella to return home, Philip was also leaving it at the head of his army on an expedition against Kersobleptes in Thrace." Grote, xi. 190.

66 ἐξωνούμενος 'in purchasing (i.e. with bribes given to Philocrates and Demosthenes) for himself these advantages he (Philip) was not acting unfairly.' "The decree of peace and alliance was all to the advantage of Philip. He was in the superior position, and it sanctioned his retention of all his conquests." Grote, xi. 200.

κατακοινωνήσαντες 'who, to the ruin of their country, gave Philip a joint control over the strongholds of the state.' See *καταχαριζόμενος* supr. 53 note. The word only occurs again in *Dem. in Zenoth.* § 25, and Cobet wishes to cut it out.

προφέρων, *qui exprobrat*, 'who reproaches me with,' cf. *Dem. de Cor.* 51, 252.

67 ἐκκλησίαν ποιεῖν 'to call, summon an assembly.' Cf. *Thuc.* i. 67. 3, 139. 3, and Classen's note to the former passage. See also § 124 note.

τῇ ὀγδόῃ. In his speech *De Fals. Leg.* Aeschines makes no mention of this decree. Grote, xi. 191, note 2. The decree which he alludes to *De Fals. Leg.* § 53 must be another, because according to it the assembly was not to be summoned until the Macedonian envoys had arrived. The *Διονύσια τὰ ἐν ᾧσται*

were celebrated from the ninth to the fifteenth of the month Elaphebolion (March). The eighth, the introductory day (*προάγων*), was consecrated to Aesculapius. Boeckh, *Inscr.* i. 251.

ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ ἡμέρᾳ. On such days public business was not transacted. Cf. Dem. c. *Timocr.* 29. The clause is in apposition to τῇ ὁγδόῃ...*προάγων*, and is suspected by some editors as an explanatory gloss.

προκαταλαμβάνων, lit. 'preoccupying the assembly for the envoys before they came,' i.e. taking care that matters should have been discussed in it before their arrival, and that so the assembly should have a bias. Cp. § 12.

τοὺς χρόνους ὑμῶν ὑποτεμνόμενος 'insidiously cutting short the time at your disposal' by hurrying the decision.

κατασπεύδων 'ruining it by haste,' cf. *supr.* 53, 66.

68 οἱ δὲ ὑμέτεροι ἀπεδήμουν *sc.* πρέσβεις, cf. § 53 note.

μὴ μόνον κ.τ.λ. Cf. Aeschin. ii. 53, 61.

69 ἐν δὲ τῇ προτέρᾳ, δέ must be taken here to mark the commencement of the apodosis. Bake omits it, Weidner conjectures γε. According to Aesch. ii. 61, Demosthenes obtained two ἐκκλησίαι, the first on the 18th the second on the 19th of Elaphebolion. There was precedent for this, when unusually important matters had to be discussed. Cf. Thuc. i. 44, 1, γενομένης καὶ δις ἐκκλησίας, and Grote, xi. p. 194 note.

κεφάλαια. The same δόγμα συμμάχων is mentioned briefly in Aeschin. ii. 60.

διὰ βραχέων, cf. § 60. γὰρ *narrativum* see on Demosth. *de Cor.* § 18.

μόνον, the adverb, instead of μόνης the adj. agreeing with εἰρήνης. Cf. Dem. *de Cor.* 161, 205.

ἀπήντησαν...δωροδόκημα 'they were right in presenting themselves to remedy the corruption of Demosthenes.' ἀπαντᾶν 'to appear as an enemy,' 'to oppose,' cf. Dem. c. *Timocr.* 38, 193, *de Cor.* 15, 125.

λασόμενοι, in the usual sense of the Greek future participle, that of the Latin supine in -um, (with verbs implying motion,) not that of the future in -rus. See Paley in *Journ. Phil.* Vol. viii. no. 15.

δωροδόκημα, cf. Dem. *de Cor.* 23, καὶ μὴν εἰ τὸ κωλῆσαι κ.τ.λ. Demosthenes retorts that if his action had been the result of bribery, Aeschines might at least have remonstrated, which he never did.



70 τῆς τριμήνου, *credibile est nomen ὥρας aut ipsum antiquitus appositum aut potius notionem eius animo infixam —*," Lobeck *Paralipp.* p. 358. Cf. Herod. 1, 202 τὴν χειμερινήν. 2, 124 τὴν τριμήνον.

τὸν χρόνον... παρασκευάζοντες 'securing that there be the time, that of the three months' interval, sufficient for the embassies of the Hellenes to arrive at Athens (παραγενέσθαι).'

μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου 'in conjunction with a common assembly of signatories.'

κτώμενοι 'by way of gaining.'

διὰ Δημοσθένην, cf. § 58.

71 ὁμολογῶ, καὶ. ὁμολογῶ ἐγὼ καὶ Dobr. ὁμολογῶ καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ Weidn. Both refer to Aeschin. II. 61.

παρήμεν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. There is no necessity here to read παρήμεν with Cobet. Cf. Andoc. I. 111, ἐκέλευον παρέναι εἰς τὸ Ἑλευσίνιον... καὶ παρήμεν. Ar. Eq. 751, παρέν' ἐς τὴν πύκνα. Herod. 6, 1 παρῆν ἐς Σάρδεις, *ib.* 24 παρῆν ἐς Ἀσίην.

προκαταλαβὼν τὸ βῆμα, al. προκαταλαμβάνων. On the subject of the second day's debate the orators energetically contradict one another and themselves. Demosthenes *F. L.* 16 asserts that Aeschines spoke on the second day in support of Philocrates in the presence of ambassadors, who had been sent for from the other Greek states. To this Aeschines *F. L.* 57—61, 65—66 replies that on the second day, in accordance with the decree moved by Demosthenes, votes were taken, and no speaking was allowed; also § 61, that the ambassadors had not returned to Athens. Yet here he states that on the second day Demosthenes got the start of the other speakers, speaking in support of Philocrates and in favour of an alliance with Philip, and (as in *F. L.*) that the ambassadors were absent. To this Demosthenes answers *de Cor.* § 21 that he himself never spoke in favour of the peace, § 23 that no ambassadors were sent to the Greek states, or § 24 sent for from them.

Probably speeches were made on the second day, and Aeschines may be here attributing to Demosthenes what was really said by Philocrates or some one else. See Thirlwall v. 350 ff. 355 note. Grote xi. 196. Shilleto, note to Dem. *F. L.* § 17.

οὐδὲ γινώσκειν... συμμαχίας 'and said that he could not recognize the peace without an alliance.' The two things generally went together, but not always. Cf. Thuc. v. 23. ἀπούσης, cp. § 45.

72 τὸ ῥῆμα, the whole expression, sentiment, not merely the word (ὄνομα), cp. § 167. ἀηδίαν, § 164 n. ἀπορρήξαι This word

was more in use among poets than orators, especially in the phrase ἀπορρήξαι βίον, πνεῦμα, ψυχήν, Eur. Or. 864. *Iph. T.* 974. Aesch. *Pers.* 508.

τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀναμένειν μελλήματα ‘without waiting for the dilatory proceedings of the Greeks.’ Dobree refers to a very similar passage Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 818, τὰ τῶν Ἀτρείδων μὴ μένων μελλήματα. Cf. *infr.* 163.

αὐτοὺς ‘alone.’ Cf. Ar. *Ach.* 504 αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἔσμεν...κοῦπω ξένοι πάρισι. Ἀντίπατρον The Macedonian envoys Antipater, Parmenio and Eurylochus were in Athens. Cf. Dem. *F. L.* § 69 (77), and the second argument to Dem. *F. L.* p. 336 (Reiske). Dinarch. i. 28, ζεύγη τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἐμισθώσατο τοῖς μετὰ Ἀντίπατρον δεῦρ’ ἐλθοῦσιν, and *infr.* § 76 ἐμισθώσατο αὐτοῖς τρία ζεύγη.

ταῦτ’ ἐνίκα ‘these measures prevailed, were carried,’ Shilleto to Dem. *F. L.* § 48.

τῷ μὲν λόγῳ προσβιασμένου ‘Demosthenes having forced them upon you with his oratory.’ προσβ. is the conjecture of Reiske for the ms. *προβ.*, which occurs nowhere else.

73 Κερσοβλέπτην ἔκδοτον ποιῆσαι, §§ 61, 65. Dem. *de Chers.* § 27 ‘to hand over,’ ‘to sacrifice.’ Demosthenes brings the same accusation with regard to Kersobleptes against Aeschines, *F. L.* 174 (192), cf. 44 (49) Shilleto, note. Aeschines replies ii. 81.

ἔκτη φθίνοντος, the 24th, see *Dict. Ant.* 223 b. τοῦ ἐλαφηβολιῶνος The word μηνός is generally added to the name of the month, cf. §§ 27, 67, 98.

πρὶν ἐπὶ...Δημοσθένην ‘before Demosthenes started on his second embassy for the purpose of receiving the oaths’ in ratification of the treaty. αἶρειν ‘to start,’ whether by sea or land, Thuc. 4, 11, 2, but ἀπαίρειν always (11 times) of starting by sea, in Thucydides.

ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ ‘acted as ambassador in Macedonia,’ πρεσβεύειν is elsewhere followed by εἰς or πρὸς c. acc. as implying motion to a place or person: but see § 145 note.

εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καθέζομενος ‘taking his seat in the assembly as a πρόεδρος,’ cf. Lysias *Agor.* 37 οἱ μὲν γὰρ τριάκοντα ἐκάθητο ἐπὶ τῶν βάθρων, οὐ νῦν οἱ πρυτάνεις καθέζονται. Demosth. *Mid.* § 163 πρὶν καὶ προέδρους καθίζεσθαι. Aeschin. ii. 82 Δημοσθένης λαγχάνει προεδρεύειν, § 85 τοὺς συμπροέδρους Δημοσθένους. For εἰς cp. § 71.

ἐκ παρασκευῆς, § 62.

74 λανθάνει γὰρ...παρεγγράψας ‘for, unobserved, Philocrates fraudulently inserted a clause in the decree together with the other provisions—.’ “*Facile ex verbis μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων γραμ-*

μάτων suppletur γράμμα τι, ad quod refertur ἐν ᾧ γέγραπται." Bremi. Later editors omit ἐν ᾧ γέγραπται. For this meaning of παρεγγράψας cf. II. 76. The idea of fraud is given by παρά as in παραπρεσβεύειν and such words.

ἀποδοῦναι...συνμάχων 'That the deputies in congress of the allies do on this day take the oaths (in ratification of the treaty) to the ambassadors from Philip.' Aeschines gives a very different account in *F. L.* §§ 81—84. There we are told that a representative of Kersobleptes was present, that it was proposed that he should take the oaths with the other deputies, and that after much opposition offered by Demosthenes this motion was carried. Whether his envoy was allowed to take the oaths (*Grote* xi. 206) or was prevented from so doing (*Thirlwall* v. 355) by the Macedonian ambassadors or the Athenian generals, it is clear that Kersobleptes was regarded by Philip as excluded from the treaty. See Kennedy's *Demosthenes* Vol. I. pp. 282—3.

ἀποδοῦναι δέ, for δέ here see Shilleto's critical note to *Dem. F. L.* § 54.

ἐξεκλίσσε, ἐξεκλήσσε edd. See Veitch, *Greek Verbs* s. v. κλείω.

75 καλὸν...καλόν, ἐπαναδίπλωσις or ἐπαναστροφή, the repetition of an important word for the sake of emphasis. Cf. § 133; *Dem. de Cor.* 141 ἔγνω—ἔγνω, 143 πόλεμον—πόλεμον, 242 πονηρὸν—πονηρόν.

ἡ τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων φυλακή, for γραμμάτων Weidner accepts the reading of several mss. πραγμάτων comparing § 152. The sense would then be 'The preservation of (the remembrance of) public transactions (by writing).'

οὐ συμματαπίπτει...πολιτεία 'does not change sides with political deserters.' Cf. I. 159 "αὐτομολεῖν proprio dicuntur milites, qui ad hostes transfugiunt. In re civili facile transfertur ad eos qui, alio tempore alias partes secuti, modo in perniciem patriae aperte agunt, modo in eius salutem agere se simulant." Bremi.

ἀπέδωκε 'allows.' Cf. *Dem. Olynth.* II. 30 εἰ δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἐπιτάττειν ἀποδώσετε.

πονηροῦς...χρηστοῦς 'disloyal'...'loyal.'

ἐκ μεταβολῆς, cf. § 64.

76 φανέται. This form of the fut. mid. is very rare in the Attic orators, who commonly use φανήσεται. See Veitch s. v. φαίνω.



προεδρίαν 'the place of honour,' at the Dionysiac festival. See Dem. *F. L.* 235 [260]; *de Cor.* 28. Aeschin. *F. L.* III. Thirlw. v. 352—3. Grote xi. 192.

προσκεφάλαια 'cushions to rest the head against.' Cf. Theophrast. *περὶ κολακείας*, § 2 καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἀφελόμενος τὰ προσκεφάλαια αὐτὸς ὑποστρώσαι.

φοινικίδας περιπέτασε 'adorned their seats with purple hangings.'

ἀπήεσαν, ἀπῆσαν Cobet, Weidner. See Veitch s. v. εἶμι.

προϋπεμψεν, cf. II. 111 καὶ συμπαρήει ἐφ' ἵππου.

ἵνα δ' ἐπὶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως μείνω 'to keep to the subject.' Cf. § 176; Dem. *de Cor.* 307, μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων.

77 οὗτος τοίνυν κ.τ.λ. With a rapid transition Aeschines contrasts the servile deference which Demosthenes paid to Philip when alive, with the unseemly delight he exhibited on hearing of Philip's death. 'This stupendous flatterer, then, no sooner gained intelligence, through his spies, who were with Charidemus.' Where Charidemus was, and in what capacity, is not known. He was probably in command at Lemnos or Scyros, having spies in the neighbourhood of Philip. Philip was assassinated by Pausanias B.C. 336. See Grote xi. 320, 336.

τῶν μὲν θεῶν...κατεψεύσατο 'he invented (ultro effinxit) a vision, and lied against the gods.' κατεψ. c. gen., cf. Dem. *de Cor.* 9, 17, 24. μὲν followed by ἐβδόμην δέ—'firstly' impiety towards the gods, 'secondly' want of natural affection towards his daughter, § 53.

οὓς μεθ' ἡμέραν...προλέγειν 'who, he declared, though in the daytime he affronted them by his perjuries, were yet wont to converse with him by night, and to reveal future events.' Cf. Plutarch *Dem.* 22.

ἐβδόμην ἡμέραν, cf. Thuc. viii. 23 τρίτην ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ ἤκοντος, 'the third day after his arrival.'

πρὶν...τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιῆσαι 'before he had finished the term of mourning and all the usual observances.' The time of mourning was 30 days, and it was usual to wear black. Lysias 1, § 4; 32, § 8. Eur. *Hel.* 1088. Plut. *Pericl.* 38. Isaeus, *Nic.* Her. 7 and 19 δὲ μηδὲν τῶν νομιζομένων ποιήσας. The funeral ceremonies lasted nine days. Aeschin. i. 14. For the customary mourning observances see *Dict. Ant.* 557 b.

ἐβουθύται, a sign of joy. Cf. Eur. *Ion* 664, βουθύτω σὺν ἡδονῇ.

**παρενόμει** opposed to τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιῆσαι, 'he was violating all decorum,' acting in defiance of decent custom. Cf. Herodot. vii. 238. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* iii. 26. 63 (where "*oportere*" expresses the idea contained in τὰ νομιζόμενα and παρενόμει), *Sed haec omnia faciunt opinantes ita fieri oportere. Itaque ut Aeschines in Demosthenem invehitur, quod is septimo die post filiae mortem hostias immolavisset* etc.

**τὴν μόνην καὶ πρώτην**, a common combination. Cf. Dem. *de Pace* § 5; *F. L.* § 302. Lucian (*Demonax* 29) notices its want of logic εἰ μὲν πρῶτος, οὐ μόνος, εἰ δὲ μόνος, οὐ πρῶτος.

**78 πατὴρ πονηρός.** καὶ πονηρὸς πατὴρ—(vel ὁ γ. μ. πατὴρ καὶ πονηρὸς)—*mox dele* οὐδὲ γε ἰδίᾳ—*χρηστός.* Vel sine istis satis habemus verborum.—Imo etiam πονηρὸς delendum. Dobr. As the text stands μισότεκνος is a substantive.

**δημαγωγὸς χρηστός.** Aeschines expresses the same idea (that a good father must make a patriotic statesman) in ii. 152 with reference to himself. Cp. also Quintil. *Instit. Or.* 1, § 10 *Oratorem instituimus illum perfectum qui esse nisi vir bonus non potest.*

**οὐδέ γε**—*gradatio ad minus.* See Wolff's note to Soph. *El.* 1347. Aeschin. i. 27. Dem. *F. L.* 184 (203); *de Pace* 16, 20. Weidner cuts out the whole clause.

**οὐ γὰρ τὸν τρόπον**, cf. Hor. *Epp.* i. 2, 27 *caelum non animi mutant qui trans mare currunt.* Dobree however would strike out the passage. Cobet and Weidner omit *μόνον*.

**79—105.** Aeschines now proceeds to treat of the second period in the life of Demosthenes B.C. 346—340, and firstly §§ 79—83 of the causes which led to the change in his policy, from advocating the peace with Philip to opposing it.

**79 τὴν μεταβολὴν τῶν πραγμάτων** 'the change in his political action.' Cf. *supr.* 75. ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν πολιτευμάτων 'in consequence of the same political action.' Cf. § 215.

**ἀπ' εἰσαγγελίας**, cf. § 52, and Shilleto note to Dem. *F. L.* 107 (118). Of course Philocrates was not driven into exile simply because he had brought about a peace with Philip. He was impeached by Hypereides (343 B.C.) on the following charge, ῥήτορα ὄντα λέγειν μὴ τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, χρήματα λαμβάνοντα καὶ δωρεὰς παρὰ τῶν τάναντία πραττόντων τῷ δήμῳ. Hypereid. *pro Euæen.* col. 39. He anticipated sentence by going into exile (*φυγὰς γεγένηται*), cf. Aeschin. ii. 6 καταγνοὺς ἀδικεῖν ἑαυτοῦ τὴν κρίσιν οὐκ ὑπέμεινεν. Grote xi. 237.

**ἐπέστη**, of a sudden unexpected onset. Cf. Thuc. 8, 69, 3.

80 Φίλιππος παρήλθε, Grote (xi. 217—218) gives an abstract of the speech addressed by Aeschines to the assembly on the 16th of Scirophorion (June B.C. 346), when Philip had reached Thermopylae. Cf. Dem. *de Cor.* 35 ὡς οὐ δεῖ θορυβεῖσθαι τῷ παρεληλυθέναι Φίλιππον εἴσω Πυλῶν. Another abstract will be found in Curtius *G. Hist.* v. 310. Both abstracts are taken from Dem. *F. L.* §§ 21 (19) ff. to which Aeschines replies in *F. L.* §§ 119 ff.

τάς τε. Reiske conjectures τὰς μὲν, and is followed by Weidner. But see Stallbaum's note to Plat. *Rep.* 367 c, *saepenumero δὲ post τε infertur, ubi alterum orationis membrum plus ponderis habet atque gravitatis*. He quotes several instances. See also Shilleto to Thuc. i. 25. 4. So καὶ...δὲ Demosth. *Cor.* § 47.

παραδόξως, cf. Aesch. ii. 131, 136. Grote xi. 222—630.

Θηβαίους δὲ 'and make the Thebans dangerously (κατὰ) strong, as it then seemed to you, far more so than the occasion and your interest required.' πέρα implies space, distance. Cf. Dem. *pro Megalop.* § 23, τί πέρα τοῦ καιροῦ τοὺς ἐτέρους ἐπαίρουσιν; and Rehdantz to Dem. *Ol.* ii. 5. *Phil.* iii. 24. κατεσκεύασε, cf. *supr.* 53 n.

ὥς τόθ' ὑμῖν ἐδόκει. But Philip soon succeeded in allaying this alarm by his letters and promises, so that, six months afterwards, Aeschines could say, Φίλιππον δὲ νῦν μὲν διὰ τὴν τῶν λόγων εὐφημίαν ἐπαινῶ· ἐὰν δ' ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔργοις γένηται, οἷος νῦν ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς ἐπαγγέλμασιν, ἀσφαλῆ καὶ ῥάδιον τὸν καθ' αὐτοῦ ποιήσεται ἔπαινον. Cf. *in Timarch.* § 169. Grote xi. 229.

ἐσκευαγωγῆσατε 'brought in all your moveable goods.' Demosthenes mentions other extraordinary votes which were passed by the Athenians in their alarm, ἐξεπέπληχθε, καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν κατακομίζειν ἐψηφίσεσθε καὶ τὰ φρούρια ἐπισκευάζειν καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ τειχίζειν καὶ τὰ Ἡράκλεια ἐν ἄστει θύειν. *F. L.* 125 [137], cf. *ibid.* 86 [97], *de Cor.* § 36 and Grote xi. pp. 227—228. Aeschines *F. L.* 139 charges Demosthenes with having been the cause of this panic, διὰ τὴν σὴν ἀνανδρίαν καὶ ἅμα φθόνον ἐσκευαγωγῆσαν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν Ἀθηναῖοι.

81 There is some difference of opinion as to the clause with which the apodosis in this long sentence (§§ 80, 81) should begin: a various reading of uncertain authority, perhaps a conjecture of Joseph Scaliger, omits δ' after μεγίσταις § 80. T. Wilde follows this reading in his German translation. Schultz and Weidner 'ex sua coniectura' strike out δ' after συνέβη placing here the commencement of the apodosis, and beginning a fresh



sentence with *τοιαύτης δ'*. In the text the reading of the Zurich edd. has been retained. The apodosis will then begin with *τοιαύτης δὲ παραχῆς, δὲ* in apodosis here repeating and summing up the *δέ's* of the protasis, but with special reference to *Θηβαίους δέ*. [*παραχῆ, ταρασσῶ*, of civil commotion as often cp. *de Cor.* 19]. The passage from Plato, *Symp.* 183 cd, which Weidner quotes seems to me to support this reading rather than his own. On the subject of *δὲ* in apodosis after temporal and relative sentences, see Goodwin *M. T.*, p. 137 Rem. (§ 64). Madvig *G. S.* § 188 R. 6. Thuc. 1, 11, 1, Classen and Shilleto (crit. not.); Isocrates, Sandys p. 43. Dobree's note is "*Lege et interpunge τοιαύτης δὴ—ταραχῆς, μετὰ—αὐτῷ ἤδη—*."

*μετὰ τῶν συμφύτων...ἐβουλεύετο* 'he took counsel with his innate weaknesses.' *μετὰ δειλίας*—'that is to say, with cowardice etc.'

*ἀναφανείη* 'appear unexpectedly,' §§ 101, 173; cf. Thucyd. 4, 36, 2 *ἐπὶ τοῦ μετεώρου ἐξαπίνης ἀναφανείς*. Ar. *Vesp.* 124.

*τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους συμπρέσβεις κινδυνεύσειν*. Weidner takes this to be an allusion to the prosecution of Aeschines by Demosthenes in the speech *De Falsa Legatione*, 343 B.C.

82 *κατιδόντες...τῇ πόλει* 'the enemies of public tranquillity perceiving his policy were delighted, and invited him repeatedly to the bema, calling him the only incorruptible politician the state possessed.' *προσπολεμεῖν* here and i. 64 with the dative; in Dem. *Ol.* ii. 22, and Plat. *Rep.* 332 E absolute. *μόνον ἀδωροδόκητον*, cf. Aeschin. ii. 8.

*κατιδεῖν, καθορᾶν* 'to get a clear view of anything.' So often in Thuc. of ships at sea. Cf. § 90.

*ὁ δὲ παριὼν...ταραχῆς* 'and he came forward as often, and gave them many a suggestion for commencing war and strife.' Cf. *ἐνδιδόναι καιρόν, πρόφασιν, λαβήν*.

*Σέρριον τείχος...πρότερον*, Herodot. vii. 59 *Σέρρειον ἄκρη οὐνομαστή*. A Thracian promontory opposite Samothrace, *hod. Cape Makri*. In the same chapter Herodotus defines the position of Doriscus. Demosthenes [*F. L.* 155, 156 (171, 172), see Shilleto's note] accused Aeschines of wasting time as ambassador, while Philip was capturing these places on the Thracian coast in March B.C. 346. Aeschines replies *F. L.* § 89 ff. Cf. Grote, xi. 207; Dem. *de Cor.* 27, 70. Demosthenes speaks of *Μυρτηνόν* also; Aeschines probably alters the name here purposely, to make it jingle with *Ἐργίσκην*.

*ἥδμεν*, this form is almost *ἄπαξ λεγ.* Cobet and Franke would alter to *ἥσμεν*.

φέρων, cf. *infr.* 90, 146. The addition of this word implies speed and mischief. So Eng. 'to take and break.' Cf. *Ar. Ilys.* 976, 705. *Aeschin.* i. 175, ii. 63. *Herod.* viii. 87, Ἀρτεμισίη φέρουσα (*cum impetu*) ἐνέβαλε νηϊ φιλίῃ. But Herodotus has the middle more often in this sense. So § 89.

περιέστησε 'gave such an evil turn to what was done,' i.e. put a bad interpretation upon it. The word here, as generally, is used of change to something bad, cf. *Isocr.* vi. 47 εἰς τοῦτο ἡ τύχη τὰ πράγματ' αὐτῶν περιέστησεν. *Dem. Olynth.* iii. 9.

κατασκόπους, cf. *Dem. de Cor.* 137 and *infr.* 223 note.

83 εἰ δὲ ἐπιτρέπειν... διαφερόμενος 'if Philip wished to entrust the decision concerning the complaints against him to a neutral and unprejudiced state, he said that there did not exist a neutral arbiter between us and Philip. The king offered us Halonnæsus: Demosthenes opposed our accepting it, if Philip wished to give it and not to give it back, trying to make a quarrel about syllables.' Cf. *Hegesippus* (*Pseudo-Dem. de Halonn.* 7), who says that Philip did make such an offer, ὅταν δὲ λέγῃ περὶ τούτων ὡς ἐθέλει διαδικάσασθαι, οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ χλευάζει ὑμᾶς. A good abstract of this speech of *Hegesippus*, which states the case on the side of Demosthenes clearly, will be found in *Curtius*, *G. Hist.* v. 370 ff. See also *Grote*, xi. 251 ff.

διδόναι 'to try to give,' 'to offer,' in pres. and impf. tenses. Cf. (*Dem.*) *de Halonn.* 2, etc. See *Goodwin*, *M. T.* § 10 n. 2, § 11 n. 2.

ἐπιστρατεύσαντας (*Weidner* conjectures *ληστεύσαντας*). A piratical attack made at the time when *Callias* the Chalcidian was plundering the maritime towns of Thessaly with the help of Athenian ships. *Pseudo-Philipp. Epist.* § 5. *A. Schaefer* suggests that the embassy of Demosthenes to the Thessalians (*de Cor.* 244) may have taken place at this time. *Dem. u. s. Zeit.* ii. 460.

τὴν συμφορὰν, Chaeroneia.

84—105. The alliance with the Euboeans. *Aeschines* goes back in point of time to trace the relations of Athens with Euboea since B.C. 366.

ἀδαμαντίνοις, a general epithet implying extreme hardness. The adamant of the classical writers was a γένος σιδήρου (*Hesych.*). *Theophrastus* first uses the word ἀδάμας to describe the diamond (see *Aesch. Prom. Vinc.* 6, *Wecklein*).

ὡς αὐτός φησι. The phrase is not to be found in the extant speeches of Demosthenes, but cf. *de Cor.* 299. So in §§ 166—7 phrases are quoted not occurring in any surviving speech.

85 Μνησάρχου τοῦ Χαλκιδέως. "The opportunity of gaining a footing in the immediate neighbourhood of Attica was presented to Philip by the troubled state of Euboea. Chalcis and Eretria, each under the rule of one of its own citizens, still, it would seem, retained their ancient rivalry. At Chalcis a dynasty had been established by Mnesarchus, and was maintained after his death by his sons Callias and Taurosthenes: at Eretria Themison had been succeeded—whether immediately or otherwise we are not informed—by Plutarchus. Both Mnesarchus and Themison had manifested hostility to Athens: and their successors were probably not more amicably disposed toward her. Callias endeavoured to strengthen himself by alliance with Philip, who sent a small body of troops to aid him in his quarrel with the tyrant of Eretria (*Aesch. Ctes.* § 87). Plutarchus was thus led to apply to Athens for protection." (B.C. 390.) Thirlwall, v. 259–260. According to the scholiast, Mnesarchus had headed an insurrection against Athens.

Ἀθηναίους εἶναι γράφειν 'to propose that they be admitted to the rights of Athenian citizenship.' This proposition was carried. Cf. *Hypereid. c. Dem. Col. xvii.* *Dinarch. c. Dem. 44.*

ὑπὸ Θεμισωνος. "Oropus, the frontier town of Attica and Boeotia—immediately opposite to Euboea, having been wrested from Athens in 366 B.C. by a body of exiles crossing the strait from Eretria through the management of the Eretrian despot Themison—had been placed in the keeping of the Thebans with whom it still remained." Grote, xi. 21. Cf. Thirlw. v. 130.

ἐκόντες ἐπιλαθόμενοι. Cf. *Dem. de Cor. 99*, ἐβοηθήσατε κ.τ.λ. *Dem. de Chers. 74*, ἵστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ' ὅτι Τιμόθεός ποτ' ἐκείνος ἐν ὑμῖν ἐδημηγόρησεν, ὡς δὲ βοηθεῖν καὶ τοὺς Εὐβοέας σώζειν, ὅτε Θηβαῖοι κατεδουλοῦντ' αὐτούς. This was a memorable and often quoted event. "The military and naval forces of Athens were sent forth on this occasion with a celerity seldom paralleled. The costly office of Trierarch was defrayed by volunteers. In thirty days the Thebans were so completely worsted as to be forced to evacuate Euboea under capitulation." Grote, xi. 21, 22. This happened in B.C. 357. A. Schaefer, i. 144. 1. According to Demosthenes (*Androt. 14*) the fleet and army were got ready in three days only.

τὰς πόλεις, the Euboean cities.

ἀπομνημονεύειν, cf. § 208, note.

86 Πλουτάρχῳ. This second expedition to Euboea in aid of Plutarchus, tyrant of Eretria was in B.C. 350. His subjects, led by Clitarchus, and aided by Callias and Taurosthenes of



Chalcis were endeavouring to expel him. The Athenians under Phocion came to his assistance, and at the battle of Tamynac defeated the Eretrians. Eubulus and Midias recommended this expedition, Demosthenes spoke against it, *de Pace*, 5.

**βοηθήσοντες.** Weidner adopts the more difficult reading, *βοηθοῦντες*, referring to Xen. *Cyr.* v. 4. 24; Soph. *Aj.* 781; Verg. *Aen.* ii. 114, "*scitantem*." For the (rare) present participle of purpose, or rather of attendant circumstance, see Goodwin, *M. T.* § 109. 5.

**τοὺς μὲν... φίλοι** 'in the first instance (if they did not act with you as friends yet) at any rate they pretended to be friends.' So with the conditional clause expressed, Eur. *Phoen.* 497—8,

ἐμοὶ μὲν, εἰ καὶ μὴ καθ' Ἑλλήνων χθόνα  
τεθράμμεθ', ἀλλ' οὖν ξυνετά μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν.

ἀλλ' οὖν—γε occurs more frequently, cf. *supr.* 11, note.

For an account of the battle of Tamynae see Grote, xi. 145—6. He places the expedition in B.C. 349, a year later than Curtius and Weidner.

87 εἷς τινὰς δυσχωρίας, cf. Dem. *Mid.* § 162.

**κατακεκλειμένον**, rare for *κατακεκλημένον* (which Weidner reads), see Veitch s. v. *κλείω* s. f.

**μάχην**, cognate accusative with *μὴ νικήσασι*, 'without winning a battle,' cf. i. 64, *τὴν καλὴν ταύτην νίκην νενικηκώς*.

**παρὰ Φιλίππου**, cf. *supr.* 85 note.

**δεξιούμενος καὶ προσγελῶν**, evidently as A. Schaefer understands it (*Dem. u. s. Zeit*, iii. 209. 1): making himself generally agreeable in order to help Demosthenes in this trial and shew his gratitude for the Athenian citizenship which Demosthenes had obtained for him. Cf. §§ 1, 257, etc. Plato has a parallel expression *Rep.* viii. 566 D, *προσγελᾷ τε καὶ ἀσπάζεται πάντας*. Both passages might be reminiscences of Eur. *Iph. A.* 339 ff. Cf. *supr.* 72. Aristoph. *Plut.* 752 *ἡσπάζοντο καὶ ἐδεξιοῦνθ' ἅπαντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς*.

**διαβιβάζειν**=to put troops on board ship and send them across a strait, so Thuc. iv. 8, 9. Cf. *μετεμβιβάζειν*, to remove a crew from one ship to another etc.

**ἐφ' ἡμᾶς**, Aeschines was present at the battle of Tamynae and brought home the news of the victory. ii. 169 ff.

88 **πεζοὶ καὶ ἵππεῖς**, the cavalry were at first routed but afterwards rallied and aided the infantry in securing the victory; Plutarch, *Phocion* 13.

ἐκ παρατάξεως 'in battle array.' Cf. Dem. *Phil.* III. 49, οὐδέν δ' ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐδὲ μάχης γιγνόμενον. ἐκ of the manner as in ἐξ ἴσου, § 57, cp. § 3 n.

διελύσασθε. This peace was made in B.C. 348, see Aeschin. II. 12.

89 φερόμενος, cf. φέρων, § 82.

συνέδριον...συνάγων 'trying to assemble a Euboean congress at Chalcis.'

ἐφ' ὑμᾶς 'against you,' cp. Demosth. *de Cor.* § 81.

ἐξαίρετον...περιποιούμενος 'and trying to win the position of despot as a special reward for himself.' So αὐτῷ is sometimes joined to the middle voice. Dem. *de Cor.* 66. ἐξαίρετον is an expression derived from the distribution of booty: when something is excepted from the mass assigned by lot, and reserved for some one especially.

90 ὑπέβαλλεν 'he offered his service to the Thebans.' Schol. ἀντὶ τοῦ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐκολάκευε, cf. inf. 116, ὑποπεπτιγκότες. § 162, ὑποτρέχει. Eur. *H. F.* 1384.

φέρων, § 82.

ἐγκαταλιπὼν 'having left them too in the lurch.'

πλείους τροπὰς τοῦ Εὐρίπου, the Euripus was noted for its frequent changes of current. ἐπτάκις τῆς ἡμέρας στρέφεται, Schol.; cf. Livy xxviii. 6. Cic. *N. D.* III. 10. Plat. *Phaedo* 90 c. Hence the proverb εὐριπος ἄνθρωπος to describe an inconstant person. According to Dio Cassius XLVI. 296 B, this simile was applied to Cicero by a Roman orator Q. Fufius Calenus. Ulrichs, who travelled in Greece in 1838, says that the current changes 4 times in 24 hours at full and new moon, but 14 times in 24 hours at the quarters. Its violence varies according to set of the wind, and the amount of water brought.

κατεῖδε, supr. 82.

κωλύσαιτε. See Goodwin, *M. T.* § 74. 1, p. 162.

91 δολιχοδρομήσαντα, he had probably won a prize in the long race (δολιχός opp. to στάδιον, *Dict. Ant.* 1055 b).

ἐξωνεῖτο (without the syllabic augment in compounds, see Veitch s.v. ὠνεομαι. But Weidner and Franke would read ἐξωνεῖτο) 'he was trying to purchase.'

ἐγκαταληφθέντι, here literally, cf. supr. 60 note.

δεύτερον δ' ἤκον...συντάξεις 'and secondly the proposer of the alliance got his reward for dispensing with the attendance of the Chalcidians in congress at Athens; thirdly, for relieving

them of the payment of their contributions.' See Grote xi. 257. At this time an embassy from the philippizing party in Euboea (Clitarchus and Philistides) arrived at Athens and stayed in the house of Aeschines. Dem. *de Cor.* 82.

92 τοὺς καιροὺς 'opportune advantages,' τὰς συνεδρίας καὶ τὰς συντάξεις in the next section.

ῥῆμα μόνον 'a mere phrase,' sc. the clause εἰάν τις ἦν ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους, while the clause that the Athenians should help the Chalcidians (βοηθεῖν ἡμᾶς Χαλκιδεῦσι) was an ἔργον.

εὐφημίας ἔνεκα 'for the sound of the thing.'

93 τῷ λόγῳ προσβιβάζων ὑμᾶς 'guiding you (to the conclusion he wished) by the argument that'—Cf. Ar. *Eq.* 35, *Av.* 425.

τὰς συμμαχίας ποιεῖσθαι, *condiciones foederis statuere.* Dobr.

τὴν Καλλίου—συμμαχίαν. Hamaker and Weidman omit this clause. It can only be an amplification of τὸ ψήφισμα.

94 δεινόν, cf. Dem. *c. Aristocr.* 211, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ δεινόν, εἰ—ἀλλ' ὅτι—.

τὰ δέκα τάλαντα. This sum, paid apparently by Oreus and Eretria between them, gives us some idea of the amount paid as contribution (σύνταξις) by each individual state. See Boeckh's *Economy*, p. 423, Eng. trans. (i. 554 Germ.).

ὁρῶντων φρονούντων βλέπόντων 'while you were in full possession of sight and understanding,' 'when you were actually looking on.' Cf. the aorists Soph. *O. R.* 649, θελήσας φρονήσας τ', 'having returned to your will and to your understanding.' For βλέπόντων Dobr. quotes Ar. *Eq.* 298, κάπιορκῶ γε βλέπόντων.

ὑφελόμενοι, Grote xi. 257, note 4; cp. § 145.

95 ὥς ἤκοι ἐκ Πελοποννήσου. "He (Callias) also employed himself during the autumn and winter of 341—340 B.C. in travelling as a missionary through Peloponnesus, to organize a confederacy against Philip." Grote, *ibid.*

κατεσκευασμένους. Cf. § 145 n.

σύνταγμα συντάξας εἰς...πρόσοδον 'having arranged a scheme (of contribution) to bring in a revenue of a hundred talents,' *discriptionem commentus*, i.e. having settled a scale according to which each state should contribute yearly towards a war with Philip.

ἑκατόν, but cf. *Vitae X. Oratt.* 851: καὶ σύνταξιν χρημάτων ἦν ἔπεισε (Δημοσθένης) πρεσβεύσας διδόναι τοὺς μὲν συμμαχοὺς εἰς



τὸν πόλεμον πλείω πεντακοσίων ταλάντων. This is more near the truth in Boeckh's opinion. There were certainly other contributors besides Achaeans, Megareans and Euboeans. *ἐκατὸν* may represent the amount collected by Callias alone. But Weidner's assertion "*vulgata scriptura aperte corrupta est*" is well supported by his note.

διελογίζετο...συντελεῖν 'he computed the contributions each state was to make respectively.' Cf. Dem. *pro Phorm.* 23 γεγενημένου διαλογισμοῦ 'after computation had been made of our respective demands.' Aeschin. i. 18, διαλογίζεσθαι τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ μῆ, 'to distinguish.'

96 εἶναι πολλοὺς...οὓς βούλεσθαι 'that there were many other Greek states who were willing to take part in.' For instances of the infinitive after the relative in oratio obliqua see Thuc. i. 91. 5, ὅσα βουλευέσθαι, Böhme's note. It occurs nine times in Thucydides. Cf. Roby, *Lat. Gr.* Pt. ii. § 1781 and Goodwin, *M. T.* § 92, 2, note 3, p. 193. See also Thucyd. 4, 98, 4; Herod. 8, 95; 9, 41.

ἔφη δέ. δέ, as often, not placed after the word to which it belongs. Cf. μὲν § 53.

δι' ἀπορρήτων 'secretly,' 'confidentially.'

97 ἦν ἐπρέσβευσε, in B.C. 340. Grote, xi. 257, note 6. Schaefer, *Dem.* ii. 454, 2.

ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας, cf. § 256.

πάντας μὲν—πάντας δέ, see § 96 note.

ὑπάρχειν 'were ready on the spot,' cf. Dem. *de Cor.* 174.

μυρίους—χιλίους, Demosthenes says μύριοι μὲν καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι ξένοι δισχίλιοι δ' ἱππεῖς, *de Cor.* 237. See the note there. Demosthenes may be giving the number of troops promised, Aeschines of those which actually took part in the war. The author of the *Vitae X. Orat.* gives the same figures as Aeschines.

98 τὰς πολιτικὰς δυνάμεις, *ex singulis civitatibus.* Cf. inf. 147, Markland, citizens opposed to ξένοι. δυνάμεις cf. δύναμιν 87.

δεδοῖσθαι δὲ ἀπὸ πάντων. "It is noticeable that this usage of ἀπὸ of the agent after passive verbs is nearly limited to λέγομαι and πρᾶσσομαι or verbs of similar meaning," Shilleto to Thuc. i. 17, 1. "ὑπὸ is joined to passives in case of personal immediate action, ἀπὸ in case of indirect action, through other persons or otherwise," Herbst über Cobet, *Jahrbüch. f. Class. Philol.* 1878—9, Suppl. B. 10, pp. 49, 50. Translate 'on the part of.' Weidn. with two MSS. ἀπάντων.

τὴν ἑκτὴν ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ ἀνθεστηριῶνος 'the 16th of Anthesterion' = March 9, B.C. 340. The full moon was on the 14th of Anthest. = March 7. See Grote xi. 257. 6. Schaefer, *Dem.* ii. 454. 2.

99 ἄνθρωπος 'the man,' Demosthenes, definitively. Not ἄνθρωπος 'man,' generally, as the Zurich text, which gives no satisfactory sense. So §§ 125, 159; cf. 157, 212.

ἴδιον καὶ οὐ κοινόν. The combination of a positive idea with its negated opposite, to obtain emphasis, is of frequent occurrence, especially in Homer and Herodotus. Cf. *Il.* i. 416. Herod. vii. 46, πολλάκις καὶ οὐκ ἅπαξ.

ἀλαζόνες. Timaeus *Lex. Plat.* ἀλαζών· ψευδής. Theophr. *Char.* 23 ἀλαζονεία δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι προσποιήσεις ἀγαθῶν οὐκ ὄντων. Ar. *Eth. Nic.* ii. 7. 12 ὁ μὲν μέσος ἀληθής τις καὶ ἡ μεσότης ἀλήθεια λεγέσθω, ἡ δὲ προσποιήσεις ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον ἀλαζονεία καὶ ὁ ἔχων αὐτὴν ἀλαζών, ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ἔλαττον εἰρωνεία καὶ εἴρων. Plautus translates Ἀλαζών by *Gloriosus* [*Mil. Glor.* 2. 1. 8].

Δημοσθένης...ψεύδεται. Cf. ii. 153. Pseudo-Dem. c. Neaer. § 10.

εἰς ὁπότε, cf. Thuc. viii. 23 ἐς ὅψε, 24 μέχρι τότε. Supr. 24. Dem. de Cor. 163 μέχρι πόρρω.

κλέπτων τὴν ἀκρόασιν 'beguiling your ears with falsehoods' cf. 36. As in § 142, Demosthenes is represented as deceiving his listeners by ὀνόματα, unrealities, false statements, ἐτέρων παρεμβόλη πραγμάτων. § 204. κλέπτειν also implies suppression of the truth. Cf. Dem. in *Aphob.* 5 διακλέπτοντα τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ λόγοις τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν πεπραγμένων. c. Stephan. ii. 25 κλέπτων τὰς ἀληθεῖς μαρτυρίας.

διό, Cobet would read ἦ. πονηρὸς ὢν καὶ τὰ τῶν χρηστῶν σημεῖα διαφθείρει 'he is a rogue himself and moreover renders useless the ordinary signs of honest men' (*signa ea et indicia quibus distinguuntur boni*). This refers especially to μιμουμένους τοὺς τάληθ' ἔχοντας. His imitation of veracity and uprightness is so perfect, both in what he says and in what he leaves unsaid, that we shall be unable in future to recognize honest men by the usual indications, cf. § 229, ὅταν δ' ἐξ ὀνομάτων συγκείμενος ἄνθρωπος, ἔπειτα ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπλότητα καὶ τὰ ἔργα καταφύγῃ, and 205—207. σημεῖον is a term borrowed from the rhetoricians, see Ar. *Rhet.* i. ii. 14, ix. 14, *Poet.* 16. 1. See also Eurip. *Med.* 516

ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δὴ χρυσοῦ μὲν δς κίβδηλος ἦ  
τεκμήρι' ἀνθρώποισιν ὥπασας σαφῇ,  
ἀνδρῶν δ' ὅτω χρή τὸν κακὸν διειδέναι,  
οὐδεὶς χαρακτῆρ' ἐμπέφυκε σώματι;

100 τῆς Ἰλιάδος. The decree given in Dem. *de Cor.* § 181—187 has been supposed to be referred to here as ‘longer than the Iliad:’ but as it stands there, though very long, it does not seem to refer to the same events as Aeschines is now engaged upon.

οὐκ ἔσομένων ‘that will never be realized.’

ἀπαγαγών...κλέμματος ‘having drawn your attention far away from the fraud he purposed.’

συστρέψας, sc. *ἑαυτὸν* ‘gathering himself up’ for a spring like a serpent. Bremi. So Taylor, *se totum collegit, summam vafritiem in ea re exseruit*. Weidner understands the word to refer to the style of the ψήψισμα, ‘concisely.’

πάνυ γὰρ ἔδει δεηθῆναι ‘of course it was absolutely necessary to beg of them!’ Ironical. No doubt Aeschines laid emphasis on the humiliating word *δεήσονται*—*δεηθῆναι*—*δεήσονται*. Schaefer II 453. Cf. inf. 103.

πρὸς τοὺς Ὠρεΐτας, *manifestum emblemata*, Cobet.

τὸν αὐτὸν Ἀθηναίους φίλον καὶ ἐχθρὸν νομίζειν. τὸν αὐτὸν Ἀθηναίους = *δὴν Ἀθηναίους*, τὸν αὐτὸν governing the dative. Madvig, *G. S.* § 37, R. 2. Goodwin, *Gr.* § 186. Thuc. III. 70. *νομίζειν*, “to treat as—,” *νομίζειν εἶναι* is the reading of the Zurich Ed.; but “*νομίζω εἶναι nihil nisi opinionem significat sine actione*.” Cobet, *Nov. Lectt.* Both Dobree and Taylor reject *εἶναι* as “*enatum ex fine praecedentis τοῦ νομίζειν*.”

101 πάλιν ἅπας ὢν, this is the conjecture of Schultz for *περὶ πάντων* of the ms. “*Deinde apparet rursus eum totum fraudi esse intentum*.” He refers to Dem. *F. L.* 127 (139), ἦν ὅλος πρὸς τῷ λήμματι, ‘wholly bent upon,’ and § 192. See also Dem. *Cor.* 176 πρὸς τῷ σκοπεῖν γίγνεσθαι. For *ἀναφαίνεται*, see § 81.

ἀφελὼν ‘omitting,’ cf. § 237.

τὰς τριήρεις. § 97. Weidner cuts it out; de Boor conj. *τὰς τερατείας*.

ἄψαι (addressed to the clerk), ‘make special mention of.’ Cf. § 193.

ὃ ὑφέλετο ‘which he fraudulently practised,’ the relative standing for a cognate accusative. Cp. Her. 6, 32 *τὰς ἀπειλὰς τὰς ἐπηπείλησαν*.

καὶ ἐν τῷδε ‘even in this as in others.’

102 πανσέληνον—συνέδρους, quoting the words used in the decree which fixed a date for the meeting of deputies from the states which were to form the new confederacy against Philip.



103 λαβὼν τρία τάλαντα μισθόν. Of course this statement must not be accepted on the authority of Aeschines alone. But he refers to a ψήφισμα of the people of Oreus, to prove that there was an agreement between the state of Oreus and Demosthenes. Schaefer (II. 459) conjectures that Demosthenes had lent the people of Oreus a talent at a moderate rate of interest to enable them to prosecute the war with Philip more quickly, an idea which is supported by the expression τὸ τάλαντον ἀφείναι.

δι' ὃ (sc. τάλαντον), Bremi, for the ms. διό.

καταφανῆς ἐγένετο 'he was detected,' cf. § 90 κατέλθε.

δημοκρατουμένων, for the liberation of Oreus see Grote xi. 256—7.

ἐξανηλωμένοι 'finding their resources exhausted.'

104 ἐλαχίστου χαλκοῦ οὐδὲν δέοιτο 'he did not want a poor bit of bronze.' But the word ἐλαχίστου is unsatisfactory. Bake conjectures ὅτι οὐδ' ἐλάχιστον χαλκοῦ δέοιτο. Perhaps the simplest emendation would be to read ἐλάχιστα for ἐλαχίστου and reject οὐδὲν as "*ex fine τοῦ χαλκοῦ et initio τοῦ δέοιτο enatum.*" Weidner καὶ μάλα χρυσοῦ χαλκοῦ δ'.

ὅτι δέοιτο...εἰσπράττειν note the variation of construction from the optative to the infinitive in oratio obliqua; so sometimes ὅτι precedes an infinitive alone, Xen. *Cyrop.* 1, 6, 18. Cp. § 96. See Clyde *Gr. Synt.* § 97. Also εἰσπράττειν the present represents the immediate future 'he insisted on at once calling in the talent.'

διὰ τοῦ Καλλίου, διὰ c. gen. of the medium cf. § 129, 162, 242.

ὑπέθεσαν...προσόδους 'mortgaged to him for the talent their public revenues.'

δραχμὴν τοῦ μηνὸς τῆς μνᾶς, 12 per cent. per ann. A moderate rate of interest for the time.

106—158 Aeschines passes now to the third period of the political life of Demosthenes, B.C. 340 to 338, the year of the battle of Chaeroneia. He first tries to shew that Demosthenes gave bad advice when he induced the Athenians to abstain from sending representatives to the special meeting of the Amphietyons, and from taking part in the sacred duty of punishing the sacrilegious Amphissians, which led to Philip's taking the position which Athens should have occupied (§§ 105—136); and he next tries to shew that the boasted alliance with Thebes in B.C. 459—8 was not due to Demosthenes, while the errors

committed in the terms of that alliance were (§§ 137—147), while he was also responsible for a peace not being made before the battle of Chaeroneia (§§ 148—158).

106 ἤδη καὶ, § 52 n.

μᾶλλον δέ, these words introduce a correction. πάντων πικρότατος is opposed to τρίτος. Cf. Dem. *de Cor.* 297. πικρότατος 'most disastrous.' This meaning of πικρὸς is frequent in the tragedians.

τῶν Ἑλλήνων, the rest of the Greeks, Athens being excepted, in 116, 151 Thebes being excepted.

πράξεις, cf. § 21.

107 τὸ Κιρραῖον πεδῖον. The most ancient and important town in the country surrounding Delphi was Crissa. It is mentioned in the Homeric hymn to Apollo Pythius, while Delphi and the harbour Cirrha are not. In the course of the war to which Aeschines here alludes (595 B.C.), Crissa and Cirrha were destroyed and the Cirrhaean or Crissaeian plain was declared sacred to the Delphian god and its cultivation forbidden. It was noted for its fertility in the direction of Crissa, but near Cirrha the country was bleak and barren. Cirrha afterwards recovered importance as the harbour of Delphi. The cause of the war was the excessive tolls exacted at the harbour of Cirrha from pilgrims voyaging to Delphi from Italy and Sicily. Grote III. 476. Preller, *Delphica* (Ausgew. Aufs. 224). Plutarch *Solon* xi.

108 πάντ' ἡμέρα καὶ πάσας νύκτας, cf. *Il.* v. 490. Only in *Il.* xxiii. 186, ἡμέρα καὶ νύκτας, does Homer place the days before the nights, in using this expression.

Κραγαλίδαις. The Acrogallidae seem to have been a people living near Cirrha. The form given by the Lexicographers varies between Κραναλλίδαι, Ἀκρογαλλίδαι, Κραναλλίδαι, and the town is called Κραναλλίον.

Ἀθηνᾶ Προναία. [The mss. have *προνοία* as in Pausanias, but the error has been corrected by inscriptions.] The temple of Athene at Delphi stood in front of the larger temple of Apollo, abutting on the road from Phocis, Paus. 10, 8, 4: see Aesch. *Eum.* 21. Herod. i. 92, viii. 37.

ἐπὶ πάσῃ ἀεργία 'to lie quite uncultivated.' Grote III. 478, xi. 273.

Σόλωνος εἰπόντος. This is confirmed by Plutarch *Sol.* xi. πεισθέντες γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνου (Σόλωνος) πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὥρμησαν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες.

ἀνδρὸς—διατετριφότης. Cobet and Weidner strike out the whole of this passage as “*ab Aeschinis persona aliena et apud Athenienses auditores perinepta.*”

109 ἔχωσαν, Veitch s. v. χόω.

καὶ ποδὶ καὶ φωνῇ, see § 120 and II. 115.

110 προστροπήν ‘imprecation,’ “*interminationem cum obtestatione deorum ultorum, si quis hoc pactum violet.*” Reiske. Lit. an entreaty made to some one in a suppliant posture. Cf. Aesch. Pers. 216.

παραβαίνοι, optative in the protasis depending on ἔστω imperative in the apodosis. See Goodwin, *M. T.* 54. b. 2(a).

φησί. The subject, easily supplied, is often omitted with this verb. Here ἡ ἀρά. Cf. I. 22. Dem. F. L. 62 (69).

111 ἐπέχεται, cf. Soph. Oed. R. 249, 269.

τέκνα γονεῦσιν ἰοικότα. Dobree refers to Hes. Op. et D. 235.

τέρατα ‘monsters.’ Cf. Plat. Cratyl. 393 B, ἐὰν ὥσπερ τέρας γένηται ἐξ ἵππου ἄλλο τι ἢ ἵππος.

ἀγορῶν ‘public speeches,’ ‘discussions in the assembly.’ Cf. Hom. Il. II. 275. Od. IV. 818. Also the meetings for such discussions Herod. 6, 9.

An equally well supported reading is ἀγορᾶς, the assembly itself. ἀγορά is used by Homer in the sense of ἐκκλησία. Cf. § 27. Schoem. Com. Ath. 28. Autenrieth’s *Homeric Lexicon*, s. v. ἀγορά. It is also used by Herodotus (6, 58) for the business done in the assembly.

θύσαιεν. The Aeolic terminations of 1 Aor. Opt. Act. -ειας, -ει(ν), -ειαν, are most generally used (by Thuc. almost exclusively). Still the forms in -αις, -αι, -αιεν, do occur. See Thuc. III. 49, V. 111 and Elmsley on Eur. Med. 319.

δέξαιντο αὐτοῖς. The majority of the mss. here, and all in § 121, give αὐτῶν not αὐτοῖς. Still Dobree would alter to αὐτοῖς in both cases, referring to Porson’s note to Eur. Hec. 533. See Cobet *Nov. Lect.* p. 497.

112 οὐ πρὶν τῆσδε. This oracle has been inserted here from Pausanias x. 37, 6. It is the answer of the Pythia when the Amphictyons consulted her about their victory. The substance of the oracle, which really belongs to this place, is given in 108 *supr.*



113 Ἀμφισσαίς. Amphissa was the chief town of the Locri Ozolae, the western neighbours of Cirrha and Delphi. There is nothing in this passage or in Dem. *de Cor.* 149 to enable us to determine the date of this occupation. Grote (xi. 273) regards it as ancient and established, Curtius (v. 411) as a recent intrusion. So also Schaefer II. 499. Cobet would omit μάλλον...αὐτῶν.

πυλαγόρων. See *Dict. Ant.* 80 b. Grote xi. 274 ff.

114 χειρότονθεῖς, B.C. 343. Schaefer II. 350.

δισχιλίας, Markland with several mss. for χιλίας. Cf. *infr.* μνᾶς εἴκοσι [= 2000 drachmae].

ἐν τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι 'at a sitting of the Amphictyons.' Cf. Dem. *Ol.* III. 10, ἐν τοῖς νομοθέταις. ἐν of that which occurs within the circle of a body of men: so ἐν ὑμῖν, ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, κ.τ.λ.

ἐφ' ᾧ τε βοηθήσειν 'on condition that he would help.' Goodwin, *M. T.* § 99 ἐφ' ᾧ τε = ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὥστε, *Gr.* § 267, Curtius, *Gr.* § 601.

ιδιώτης = one who is concerned only with his own private affairs, a layman as opposed to an official or professional, as here to δυνάστης: so also to στρατηγός, πρεσβευτής, ῥήτωρ, ἰατρός, κ.τ.λ.

δυνάστης est tyrannus. Dem. *Aristocr.* § 124. Dobr.

115 περιεγένετο 'got the better of,' 'triumphed over,' cf. § 173.

ἐπὶ Θεοφράστου ἄρχοντος, B.C. 339. Grote xi. 274.

ἱερομνήμονος, see § 113. The hieromnemon was selected by lot (*Arist. Nub.* 623) and appears not to have had a vote with the Pythagorae.

ἐκείνον 'the well-known,' somewhat sarcastic, cf. Dem. *de Cor.* 219. ἐβουλόμην ἂν 'I could have wished.' τὸν Λέκκιον 'of the deme Leccum,' see notes on text.

καὶ τρίτον δὴ 'and thirdly, as you know.' δὴ is Weidner's reading for the mss. δέ. The combination καὶ—δέ is used for emphasis and climax, the word between καὶ and δέ being emphasized, 'but' (δέ)—'also' or 'actually' (καὶ). Cf. § 126; *Thuc.* I. 132. 2. Dem. *Ol.* III. 15. *Phil.* III. 70. But there can be no question of emphasis or climax as regards the word τρίτον here. Cf. Stallbaum *crit. not.* to *Plat. Apol.* 19 E. For δὴ referring to a well-known fact see *Herod.* 6, 44, 45.

116 ὑποπεπτωκότες, sc. τοῖς Θηβαίοις 'abjectly submissive to.' Cf. § 90 ὑπέβαλλεν ἑαυτὸν. Dem. c. Steph. i. 63, τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἐθελόντης ὑποπίπτει. θεραπεύοντες, cp. c. Aristocr. 8.

εἰσέφερον, impf. 'wished to propose.' See Dem. de Cor. 149.

ἀνέθηκε πρὸς 'it brought to the new shrine and dedicated.'

τὸν καινὸν νεών. The temple at Delphi was burnt 548 B.C. The new one built by the Alcmaeonidae for the Amphictyons remained till the time of Pausanias. See Herod. v. 62. If this 'new temple' is referred to here, the offence was one of long standing, the time being shortly after the battle of Plataea; and it would then seem to have consisted in the erection of a permanent trophy. Cf. Cic. Inv. ii. 69.

πρὶν ξηράσασθαι [an old variation was ἐξέλρασθαι] 'before its complete consecration.' This had not taken place at the end of the Persian war, probably because the building itself was not complete. This is the view of Schaefer and Weidner. Grote's view is somewhat different (xi. 275). He thinks that the shields had been recently regilded and set up again in a new cell or chapel.

ἐπέγραψεν, Weidn. for mss. ἐπιγράψαμεν. ἀπὸ Μήδων, cf. § 156 n. τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, cf. § 106.

εἰς τὸ συνέδριον, that is, of the Amphictyons, see on Dem. de Cor. § 135.

καὶ αὐτὸν οὕτω προηρημένον 'when I had myself already determined to do so.'

117 ἀρχομένου δὲ... μεθεστηκότων 'but when I began my speech and indeed had entered the council-chamber with more than usual earnestness, the other pylagorae having withdrawn.' If the words are thus taken, τὸ συνέδριον means the assembly of the hieromnemes alone. Cf. Dem. de Cor. 149. Schaefer ii. 499. But there seems no reason to suppose that such a question should be reserved for them; and therefore many translate μεθεστηκότων 'having made way for me.' Cp. § 122.

παιδείας humanitatis §§ 208, 260.

δαιμονίου τινός. "Quem deus vult perdere prius dementat," is a common sentiment with Greek writers. Cf. Dem. Phil. iii. 54. Lysurg. c. Leocr. 92, οἱ γὰρ θεοὶ οὐδὲν πρότερον ποιοῦσιν, ἢ τῶν πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν διάνοιαν παράγουσιν. For the δαιμόνιον see Plat. Symp. 202 E πᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον μεταξὺ ἐστὶ θεοῦ τε καὶ θνητοῦ—ἐρμηνεύον καὶ διαπορθμεύον θεοῖς τὰ παρ' ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀνθρώποις τὰ παρὰ θεῶν.

ἀρχὴν 'at all,' always with a negative and generally placed first in the sentence, ἀρχὴν—οὐδέ, ne initio quidem = ne omnino quidem; see Curtius Gr. Gr. § 405, obs. 2. γε emphasises ἀρχὴν.

ἐξείργετ' ἂν 'you would have excluded them,' cf. § 122.

118 ἐμέμνητο c. gen. 'he made mention of,' so μέμνημαι αὐτῶν, μνησθήναι τῆς παρανομίας.

ὁ Κρωβύλος ἐκεῖνος. [Cf. § 115. *C. Timarch.* 64.] 'The notorious Top-knot' ("l'insigne Chignon *Gallice*"). Hegesippus, a political ally of Demosthenes, and his companion as ambassador into the Peloponnese B.C. 343. The κρωβύλος was a fashion of dressing the hair both effeminate and antiquated. The hair was rolled into a knot on the crown of the head and fastened with a pin in the form of a grasshopper. See Classen's note to Thuc. i. 6 and *Dict. Ant.* 328 b, 329 a. Hegesippus was so called καθὸ αὐτὸς ἤλειφε τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ ἐφιλοκάλει τὰς τρίχας. Schol. The alliance here alluded to was made just before the outbreak of the Phocian war in 356 B.C. Cf. Diod. Sic. xvi. 29, τοῖς δὲ Φωκεύσι συνεμάχουν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ τινες ἕτεροι τῶν Πελοποννησίων. Dem. *F. L.* 61 (68). There was a suspicion that Hegesippus had been bribed by the Phocians. Schaefer, i. 456. 2.

ἐπῆλθε. Cf. Dem. *de Cor.* 263. ἐπὶ τὴν γνώμην rightly suspected by Baiter.

αὐτόθεν ἐστηκώς 'from the spot where I stood' as an orator addressing the assembly.

ὑπόκειται. The heights near Delphi, called the Phaedriades, command a full view across the Pleistus valley as far as the sea.

119 κεραμεῖα καὶ αὔλια 'pottery-works and farm-buildings.'

πεπρακότας. Weidner adopts this conjecture of Hamaker (fr. πιπράσκω) which receives some support from the explanation of the Scholiast μισθώσαντας τὰ τέλη τοῦ λιμένος. Cf. τέλη πωλεῖν, πρίασθαι. Xenoph. *Hell.* iv. 8, 27 ἀπέδοτο τὴν δεκάτην τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πλεόντων. Others πεπραχότας fr. πράσσω in the sense 'exact,' rare in the active, but see Herod. i. 106 φόρον ἐπρησσον; 3, 58 καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκατὸν τάλαντα ἐπρηξαν.

ἅμα δὲ ἀναγιγνώσκειν ἐκέλευον. Schaefer regards these words as an indication that Aeschines was not speaking on sudden impulse (οὕτω παρωξύνοιεν—ἐπῆλθε) but had got ready his documents and prepared his speech beforehand, as Demosthenes asserts *de Cor.* 149, λόγους εὐπροσώπους καὶ μύθους συνθεῖς. To this Weidner replies that such important documents, concerning the cause of the Delphic God, would surely be ready to hand preserved among the archives of the Amphictyons, and so might be produced and read by the clerk after a short interval.



120 διαριζόμεν 'made definite distinction' between his own intended conduct on the one hand (μέν) and possible apathy on the part of his audience on the other (δέ). So the same verb followed by μέν and δέ, Aeschin. i. 95; ii. 145.

βοηθῶ present for the immediate and certain future. See § 230, cp. Herod. vi. 53 γράφω, vi. 82 αἰρέει.

ἀφοσιῶ 'I purge,' 'I clear from guilt,' "*religione exsolvo*," cf. Plat. *Legg.* 873 B, λίθον ἕκαστος φέρων ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ νεκροῦ βάλλων ἀφοσιούτω τὴν πόλιν ὅλην. *Phaedr.* 242 C, ἥ με οὐκ ἐὰ ἀπιέναι πρὶν ἂν ἀφοσιώσωμαι, ὥς τι ἡμαρτηκότα εἰς τὸ θεῖον.

ἐνήρκεται τὰ κανᾶ [ἐνάρχομαι] 'the baskets are emptied for the commencement of the sacrifice.' Cf. Eur. *El.* 1141, καοῦν δ' ἐνήρκεται, καὶ τεθηγμένη σφαγίς, and *Iph. A.* 435, ἀλλ' εἶα, τὰπὶ τρισὶδ' ἐξάρχου κανᾶ. Thus also ἀπάρχεσθαι takes acc. See Meisterhaus *Gramm. der Att. Inschr.* p. 168. See *Dict. Ant.* s. v. Canephoros. (A better picture of the *κάνεον* will be found in Fig. 201 of Guhl and Koner's *Life of the Greeks and Romans*.) Sacrifices performed in common were an important part of Amphictyonic meetings, for a community of religion was the primary reason of the union. Cf. § 124, συνθύοντας.

121 ποίοις ὄμμασι, cp. τίσι ὀφθαλμοῖς Dem. *de Cor.* 201.

μηδ' ὁσίως θύσαιεν 'let not their offering be guiltless, who—'.

αὐτοῖς, see on § 111.

122 ἀπηλλάγην καὶ μετέστην 'withdrew and left the assembly,' as the other pylagorae had done before (§ 117), Aeschines remaining at the wish of the Athenian hieronimemon Diognetus (§ 116).

πόρρω τῆς ἡμέρας οὔσης. Hamaker would strike out οὔσης. The proper phrase is πόρρω τῆς ἡμέρας ἐστί, εἶναι etc. See examples in L. and Sc. Others propose ὄντος.

Δελφῶν ὅσοι ἐπὶ δέτετες ἡβῶσι 'all who were of age.' Natural ἐφηβεία was supposed to commence in the sixteenth year, civil in the eighteenth. Those who had completed their sixteenth and seventeenth years were said ἐπὶ δέτετες ἡβᾶν or ἡβῆσαι 'to be ἐφηβοί for two years,' during which a young man, at Athens at least, had to perform duty as περίπολος. K. F. Hermann, *Privatalt.* § 35, 13. Schaef. iii. 2. 19—38, esp. pp. 36, 37, 25. A different view, that ἐπὶ δέτετες ἡβᾶν = the completion of the 16th year, was proposed by Boehnecke (*Forsch.* i. 58) and supported by Thirlwall, v. Append. i. Ed. 1849, and Weid. *ad loc.* τὸ Θυτέιον some unknown spot called 'the place of sacrifice.' See notes on text.

123 ἀνεχωροῖμεν 'we were on our way back.'

πρὸς ἡμᾶς 'to attack us': they did not reach them. For πρὸς in hostile sense see Soph. *Trach.* 303 ὦ Ζεῦ τροπαῖε, μή ποτ' εἰσίδοιμί σε | πρὸς τοῦμόν οὕτω σπέρμα χωρήσαντά ποι. W. with some mss. ἐφ' ἡμᾶς.

πανδημί 'with all their available forces.' This word is frequently used by Thucydides, and nearly always in reference to a sudden levy or popular rising to repel an invader or the like; while πανστρατιᾶ is a more distinctly military term, indicating a complete army on a regular war-footing.

ἐκινδυνεύσαμεν ἂν. The earlier editors, Benseler, Franke ed. 2, omit ἂν. So Goodwin, *M. T.* 49. 2. d. But cf. § 88.

124 Κόττυφος, ἡγεμὼν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, Schol. See § 128. Demosth. *de Cor.* § 151. He presided as a Thessalian deputy: the Thessalians having had this privilege since the end of the Sacred War.

ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίει 'summoned,' the Active, of the presiding authority, cf. *supr.* 27, 39, 67. The Middle ποιεῖσθαι ἐκκλ. occurs occasionally of the people present in the assembly, Dem. *de Cor.* 213; but the usual word is ἐκκλησιάζειν, Froberg *Lys.* xii. 72.

ἐκκλησίαν γάρ. The assembled Amphictyons thus followed the analogy of popular institutions, which in Greece nearly always embraced a large assembly (ἐκκλησία), and a smaller council (βουλή). The sort of irregular constitution of this ἐκκλησία finds an analogy in the early history of our own parliament, to which all present in whatever town it was held seem once to have had the right of coming. Weidner brackets the whole clause as an explanation unnecessary at Athens.

πολλὰ μὲν—πολὺς δὲ—τέλος δέ. Climax. Cf. Dem. *de Cor.* 288, ὁ μὲν—οἱ δὲ—ἀλλά.

κατὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως. Cf. § 50 n. Dem. 2 *Phil.* ὁ καὶ μέγιστόν ἐστι καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον.

πρὸ τῆς ἐπιούσης πυλαίας. This being in the autumn would be too late for the commencement of a war.

125 ἀποδοθέντος 'delivered' as a letter. Cf. Thuc. viii. 10, Aeschin. ii. 45. Weidner strikes out ἐν before τῇ βουλῇ and gives reason for suspecting that the same should be done before τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

καὶ Δημοσθένους... ἀντιλέγοντος 'and Demosthenes opposing (this religious policy) for the sake of the bribe to come from Amphissa which had been deposited with a third party (Lat. *sequester*).' Cf. Dem. *in Boeot.* i. 3, μεσεγγυησαμένης ἀργύριον, *quum certam pecuniae summam apud mediatorem deposuisset*. The allusion is to the charge brought against Demosthenes, in § 114.

μεταστησάμενος τοὺς ιδιώτας 'having secured the with-

drawal of strangers.' *ιδιώτας* 'spectators,' persons not *βουλευταί*, Shilleto to Dem. *F. L.* 18 (19). *ἵνα διαφθείρῃ τοὺς βουλευτάς*, Schol.

*ἐκφέρεται*, mid. 'he causes a decree to be brought down from the *βουλή* to the *ἐκκλησία* and proposed to the latter.' Cf. the aorist in Aeschin. II. 66, *ἐξενέγκασθαι* = *efficere, consequi*.

126 *προσλαβὼν* 'taking advantage of,' lit. 'taking as an auxiliary.' Cf. Dem. *F. L.* 315 (362), *προσλαβὼν τοὺς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐχθροὺς*, supr. 9. The Scholiast explains *οἷονεὶ πείσας τινὰ εὐήθη βουλευτὴν γράψαι τὸ ψήφισμα*.

*τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο*, sc. *προβούλευμα*.

*καὶ τῶν πολλῶν δὲ ἀφαιμένων* 'and when the majority had actually dispersed.' Weidner conjectures *δὴ ἀφειμ.* as in § 115. Schultz and Benseler with some mss. read *διαφαιμένων*, comparing Dem. c. *Aristocr.* 171, *διαφεῖναι τὴν δύναμιν*. 176, *τὴν δύναμιν διαφαιμένην*. Xen. *Hell.* iv. 4. 14, *διαφῆκε τὸ στράτευμα*. But the *καὶ...δὲ* here answers to the requirements enunciated in § 115.

*τοὺς ἀεὶ πυλαγοροῦντας* 'the pylagorae for the time being,' lit. 'those who are in office as pylagorae on each occasion.' This amounted to a refusal to send *extraordinary* pylagorae. The pylagorae were elected annually.

*ἐν τοῖς τεταγμένοις χρόνοις*. *Hypereid. Epitaph.* col. viii. p. 57, Teubner ed., *ἀφικνούμενοι γὰρ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἅπαντες οἷς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ εἰς τὴν Πυλαίαν*. *Dict. Ant.* p. 80 a, b.

*σύλλογον* 'extraordinary meeting.'

*ἐξ ἀνάγκης*, cf. § 88.

127 *πρόσταγμα* 'clause.' *σύγγραμμα*, the reading of the Zürich edd., would have much the same meaning as *ψήφισμα*, i.e. the whole decree. Cf. inf. 155, *τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ψηφίσματος πρόσταγματα*. Bake, *Schol. Hyppomn.* iv. 326.

*μετέχειν τινὶ τινος* 'to share with some one in something.' Weidner (ed. 1872) quotes *Philipp. Ep.* § 8 ap. Dem. 161, *ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς οὔτε τῶν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης συνθηκῶν οἶδα μετασχόντας ὑμῖν οὐτ' ἐν ταῖς στήλαις ἀναγεγραμμένους*. See § 191.

*λεγόμενον*. Franke thinks this corrupt. Weidner reads *λέγειν*.

*οὕτως τὴν πόλιν διατέθεικεν* 'has reduced the state to the condition in which it is.' Cf. *οὕτω*, § 128. Thuc. vi. 9, 1.

*οὐκ ἐᾷ μεμνήσθαι* 'it bids you to forget.'

128 *κατεμείναμεν*. Cobet conjectures *οἶκοι ἐμείναμεν*.

*πλὴν μιᾶς πόλεως*. The Scholiast's explanation, which Weidner quotes without remark, is *τὴν Θηβαίων πόλιν λέγει κατεσκάπτετο γὰρ ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου*. But the razing of Thebes



by Alexander took place in B.C. 335, the Amphictyonic war against Amphissa in B.C. 339. Thebes was the one state, and Aeschines in this sentence alludes to its destruction, μήθ' αἰ συμφοραὶ κ.τ.λ. For the significance of this action of Thebes in sending no representative to Thermopylae see Grote, xi. 284. The remark of the Scholiast really explains the following words, ἧς ἐγὼ οὐτ' ἂν τοῦνομα εἴποιμι.

οὔτε—μήτε, cf. § 38.

παραπλήσιοι αὐτῆς 'like her,' for 'like her misfortunes.' *Comparatio compendiaria*. Cf. Xen. *Cyr.* v. 1, 4, ὁμοίαν ταῖς δούλαις εἶχε τὴν ἐσθῆτα. Krueger, *Gr. Gr.* 48. 13. 9. But Cobet with some justice objects to the presence of the article αἰ in the sentence.

Κόττυφον τὸν Φαρσάλιον, Schol. Φάρσαλος δὲ ἐστὶ Θεσσαλίας. τοῦτον Δημοσθένης (*de Cor.* § 155) Ἀρκάδα φησὶν κακῶς· τὴν γὰρ ἡγεμονίαν Θεσσαλοὶ εἶχον. The Thessalians seem to have had a right to the presidency. The Arcadians were not Amphictyons. Cf. Dem. *de Cor.* 151.

τολμήσει λέγειν, Dem. *de Cor.* 143. Unless this was inserted afterwards, we must suppose that the common talk of the agora let advocates into the secret of the general line of argument to be adopted by their opponents.

129 παρελθόντες 'having come up,' 'presented themselves.' So of Philip with an army, § 80. Dem. *de Cor.* 152. Aeschines perhaps purposely uses a colourless word, for the expedition was not a success. See below..

καὶ μάλα μετρίως 'with very great lenity.'

ἐν ῥήτῳ χρόνῳ, Schol. οὐκ. εὐθὺς ἀλλὰ. προθεσμίαν τινὰ αὐτοῖς δόντες.

μετεστήσαντο, euphemism for ἐξέβαλον.

κατελθόντας διὰ τῶν Ἀμφ., cf. § 104. W. omits these words. οὕτως 'in these circumstances.'

ἤδη, cf. § 52 n.

πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον. Schaefer places the first of these expeditions in the beginning of spring, the latter in the early winter of 339 B.C. Demosthenes gives a different account of the first expedition, *de Cor.* 151, according to which the expedition was a failure because the members of the League did not respond to the summons of Cottyphus. See Grote, xi. 284 ff., in favour of Demosthenes. On the other side Spengel, *Vertheid. Ktes.* p. 42, "If Demosthenes had really seen into the matter from the very first, as he assures us, his whole energy must have been directed to making up the quarrel which had broken out, and preventing any interference of Philip's."

130 φωνὰς προσκτησάμενοι. Personification. Cf. Soph. *Phil.* 466, Eur. *Hec.* 1042, Aesch. *Ag.* 37, Dem. *Ol.* i. 2, ὁ μὲν οὖν παρὼν καιρὸς μόνον οὐχὶ λέγει φωνὴν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ. Another reading is προηκάμενοι. See Veitch s. v. ἱημι, and Shilleto to Dem. *F. L.* § 78 (88). Muretus (*Var. Lect.* viii. 10. 11. 20) points out that this passage is imitated by Cicero, in *Catil.* iii. § 18 (*ut haec, quae nunc fiunt, canere dii immortales viderentur*). In the preceding sentence Cicero had borrowed a phrase of Aeschines, cf. § 119. Muretus also compares Cic. *Leg. Agr.* ii. 53 and *Philipp.* xi. 7 with §§ 153, 157 *infr.*, and Cic. *pro Caelio* 63 with Aeschin. i. 84.

ὑπὸ τῶν ῥητόρων ἐνίων. Cobet would omit ἐνίων on the ground both that it weakens the sense, and is objectionable in regard to construction. ἐνιοι seems to have been avoided by the older Attic writers,—not occurring in the Tragedians (and only once in Aristophanes) or Thucydides. It is found however in Demosthenes, Aeschines, Isocrates, Plato and Aristotle. It is used in Herodotus, but never in Homer; hence it has been supposed to be a compound ἐνι οἷ rather than a modification of a separate root.

τοῖς μυστηρίοις. Schol. μυστήρια δεῖ νοεῖν τὰ Κόρης καὶ Δήμητρος.

ἡ τῶν μυστῶν τελευτή 'the death of some of the initiated,' i.e. by means of a shark. Schol. λέγει δὲ ἐκεῖνο τὸ τέρας, ὅτε κατελθόντων τῶν μυστῶν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπὶ τὸ καθαρθῆναι, ἤρπασεν ἓνα αὐτῶν τὸ κῆτος. κῆτος, 'a shark,' cf. Plut. *Phoc.* c. 28, Μύστην δὲ λούοντα χοιρίδιον ἐν Κανθάρῳ λιμένι κῆτος συνέλαβε καὶ τὰ κάτω μέρη τοῦ σώματος ἄχρι τῆς κοιλίας κατέπιε, προδεικνύντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ προφανῶς, ὅτι τῶν κάτω καὶ πρὸς θαλάσσην στερηθέντες τὴν ἄνω πόλιν διαφυλάξουσιν. Schaefer ii. 514. *Dict. Ant.* 453 b. For the presence of such fish in the Mediterranean see Herod. vi. 44.

περὶ τούτων. Schol. πληθυντικῶς δ' εἶπε δέον ἐνικῶς, οἱ δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι (τὸ κῆτος) δύο κατέφαγεν.

Ἀμεινιάδης. Schol. μάντις Ἀθηναῖος.

φιλιππίζειν τὴν Πυθίαν, cf. Plut. *Dem.* 20; Cic. *de Divin.* ii. § 118, *Demosthenes quidem qui abhinc annos prope ccc fuit, iam tum φιλιππίζειν Pythiam dicebat, id est, quasi cum Philippo facere. Hoc autem eo spectabat ut eam a Philippo corruptam diceret. Quo licet existimare, in aliis quoque oraculis Delphicis aliquid non sinceri fuisse.* Schaefer i. 1.

ἀπολαύων καὶ ἐμπιπλάμενος 'profiting by and sating himself with,' i.e. taking full advantage of. Cf. Aeschin. i. 56, ἀπολε-  
λαυκῶς τῆς ἐκείνου εὐθείας. Dem. c. *Aristocr.* 180, ὁ ταύτης τῆς ἐξουσίας (opportunity) ἀπολαύσας. Xen. *Symp.* iv. 37, ὥσπερ εἰ

τις πολλὰ ἐσθίων μηδέποτε ἐμπίπλαιο. Cp. § 230. With regard to the orthography of the latter verb see Veitch s. v. *πίμπλημι* and Franke *Lectt. Aeschin.* p. 462.

ἐξουσίας 'power,' § 222, ἐπιστάτην τοῦ ναυτικοῦ.

131 ἀθύτων καὶ ἀκαλλιερήτων τῶν ἱερῶν ὄντων. Cf. § 152, 'when the sacrifices were unsuccessful and had given no favourable omens.' It was ill-omened if the victim did not nod assent to (ἐπινεύσαι) the sacrifice. ἀθύτων, cf. τὰ ἱερὰ οὐ γίγνεται, Xen. *Hell.* iii. 1, 17. καλλιερεῖν, Lat. *litare* (*non quacunq̃ manu victima caesa litat*, Mart. x. 73, 6). K. F. Hermann *Alterth.* ii. 38. 24: 28. 6; the ἱερὰ themselves are said καλλιερεῖν (Herod. vi. 76; ix. 19) the men consulting them καλλιερεῖσθαι (Herod. vi. 62; vii. 113; Aristoph. *Plut.* 1181). Many portents preceded the battle of Chaeroneia. One is mentioned by the Schol. to Apoll. *Arg.* 4. 1284, ὅτ' αὖ αὐτόματα ξάνα ρέη ἰδρῶντα αἵματι—ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν Θήβαις ὅτε συνίστατο ὁ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν πόλεμος. Cf. Plut. *Dem.* 19, 20. Schaefer, ii. 526.

πρόδηλον i.e. to Aeschines. Demosthenes is οὐδὲν προειδὼς τῶν μελλόντων ἔσσεσθαι. Demosthenes replies to this word *de Cor.* §§ 196, 199.

καίτοι γε πρόην. καίτοι πρόην γε, Weidn. With the former reading the γε affects the whole sentence, with the latter πρόην is specially emphasized. See Krueger, *Gr. Gr.* 69. 15. 3.

παρὰ τοῦτο 'because of this.' According to Rehdantz, as with Lat. *propter*, there is a transition of meaning from 'by the side of' to 'because of' (cf. 'along of'). Krueger, *Gr. Gr.* 68. 36. 6, and Madvig, *G. S.* 75. 1, regard this causal meaning of παρὰ as immediately developed from that which it bears in such phrases as παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἐγένετο, παρὰ μικρὸν ἦλθεν, i.e. difference, that which turns the scale. Cf. Thuc. i. 141. 6, Dem. *Phil.* i. 11 n., *de Cor.* 232, 239?

ἀλιτήριε 'pest.' This word expresses the highest degree of criminality. It governs the genitive of the person wronged, see Dem. *de Cor.* 159, Thuc. i. 126. According to its derivation, from stem ἀλιτ-, it is 'one who goes astray.' See Curtius, *Gk. Etym.* pp. 575, 546, 665.

ὑπερῶρισθαι 'to be thrown across the frontier,' i.e. to be executed and refused burial in Attica. Cf. inf. 252, 244. Hypereid. *pro Lyc.* 16, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐξορισθῆναι καὶ ἀποθανόντα μηδὲ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ταφῆναι, *pro Eux.* 31. Herman Hager in *Journ. Phil.* viii. 2, iv. 105.

132 ἐφ' ἡμῶν 'in our day.' §§ 150, 178, 231.



οὐ...γε. The γε here emphasizes the whole thought, not any particular word. Cf. § 242 οὐ...δήπου...γε.

βίον ἀνθρώπινον, an ordinary human life, full of vicissitude as it is.

εἰς παραδοξολογίαν...ἔφυμεν 'we were born to be a tale of wonder to those who shall come after us.' παράδοξος, incredible, cf. supr. 18. Aeschin. *F. L.* vi. 40.

ὁ τὸν Ἀθω...αἰτῶν, Xerxes and, as regards the last clause, Darius, cf. Herod. vii. 22. 23. 36, 32, vi. 48, and Isocr. *Paneg.* 89, with Sandys's note. Aeschines evidently believed the account given by Herodotus of the canal cut, not through Mount Athos, but the neck of land behind it. Its existence is not now questioned. See Mayor's note to Juvenal x. 174.

αἰτῶν, τολμῶν, pres. participles of that which occurred repeatedly. Cf. Goodwin, *Moods* §§ 16, 2. 15, 3.

ὁ τολμῶν...δυομένου. Herodotus does not say this of Xerxes. He puts into his mouth a somewhat similar expression, vii. 8, 3, γῆν τὴν Περσίδα ἀποδέχομεν τῷ Διὸς αἰθέρι ὁμουργέουσιν. Cf. Joseph. xi. *Antiquit.* vi. 6 (in a letter of Artaxerxes), πολλῶν ἔθνων ἄρξας καὶ πάσης ἧς ἐβουλήθην κρατήσας οἰκουμένης. Arrian, *Anab.* v. 26. Diodorus xvi. 92. Isocr. *Paneg.* § 179. Ezra i. 2. Herod. ix. 122.

νῦν...σωτηρίας. Darius Codomannus had been murdered in July 330. Aeschines is speaking about a month later. The news had therefore not yet reached Athens. See Thirlwall, Vol. vi. ch. li. Grote, Vol. xii. p. 8.

διαγωνίζεται. Cobet would read ἀγωνίζεται, on the ground that the other is appropriate to a rivalry among many.

τοὺς αὐτοὺς, the Macedonians.

ἡξιωμένους, in the congress at Corinth, B.C. 337. Thirlw. vi. ch. xlvi. Grote, xi. p. 316.

τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερόν ἡλευθέρωσαν. Philip is referred to, as having subdued the Phocians in the Sacred War, and, after the destruction of Amphissa, restored the sacred land to Delphi. Thirlw. v. p. 371. Grote xi. p. 302.

133 Θῆβαι δέ, Θῆβαι. The second Θῆβαι was first admitted into the text by Reiske. It appears in several mss., and the passage is quoted as an instance of ἀναδίπλωσις by Demetrius (περὶ ἑρμηνείας § 267) who adds διλογηθὲν γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα δεινότητα ποιεῖ. See § 75. It is solemn rather than pathetic.

μεθ' ἡμέραν μίαν 'in one day.' There seems to be no exact parallel to this expression. Compare however Diod. Sic. ii. 16,

μετὰ τρίτον ἔτος, *tertio anno*: Joseph. *Ant.* i. ch. 22, μετ' ὀγδόην ἡμέραν, *octavo die*: Polyb. μετὰ τρίτην ἡμέραν, *perendie*: Joseph. *Jud. Bell.* i. 13, μετὰ δύο ἔτη = δευτέρῳ ἔτει. μεθ' ἡμέραν, *interdiu*, 'in the daytime,' lit. 'after daybreak,' occurs frequently. Cf. § 77, Ar. *Plut.* 931, where there is the scholion μεθ' ἡμέραν. ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ. Ἀττικὸν τὸ σχῆμα. Perhaps here μεθ' ἡμέραν μίαν = 'after one day's dawn,' i.e. the destruction of Thebes was complete in 24 hours.

ἀνήρπασται 'has been extirpated.' The word implies swift and utter destruction. It is applied to individuals as well as to states. See Buttmann, *Ind. in Mid.* p. 172. Wesseling, *Diod. Sic.* Vol. iv. p. 667, Dindorf. *Infr.* 136. 146. The change to the singular number is occasioned by the intervention of πόλις in apposition to Θῆβαι. So often with ἕκαστος. Αἱ τέχναι τὸ αὐτῆς ἐκάστη ἔργον ἐργάζεται, *Plat. Rep.* 346 D.

περὶ τῶν ὅλων...βουλευσάμενοι 'because they (the Thebans) did not decide aright concerning their main interests.' Understand οἱ πολῖται from πόλις as in *Xen. Hell.* i. 4, 12, quoted by Madvig, *G. S.* § 3 b. τὰ ὅλα the main interests of Thebes, not of Greece. Frequent in Polybius, see for instance II. 9, αἱ Κερκυραῖοι δυσελπίστως διακείμενοι τοῖς ὅλοις, *omni prope spe de summa rerum suarum amissa*. *Dem. de Cor.* 28, 303. Diodorus Siculus, speaking of Thebes at this period, says (xvii. c. 10), οὐ μὴν βοηθεῖν γ' ἐτόλμων (οἱ Ἕλληνες) τῇ πόλει διὰ τὸ προπετῶς καὶ ἀβούλως εἰς ὁμολογουμένην ἀπώλειαν ἑαυτὴν δεωκέναι. And Arrian i. 9. 6, Θηβαίοις τὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ὀξέα καὶ ξὺν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ γενόμενα κ.τ.λ.

ἀλλὰ τὴν γε θεοβλάβειαν...κτησάμενοι 'yet surely they incurred their blindness and stupidity not by human agency but by divine.' Madness and folly were often regarded as heaven-sent punishments. Cf. § 117. Herod. vii. 10, 5. On κτᾶσθαι in this sense see Elmsley's note to *Eur. Med.* 212, 213. Cf. also *Eur. Hippol.* 701 πρὸς τὰς τύχας γὰρ τὰς φρένας κεκτήμεθα 'we obtain credit for sense, or discredit, in accordance with results.'

περὶ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατάληψιν *valde suspicor scholion esse ad voces ἐξ ἀρχῆς*, Dobr. The words are omitted by Weidn. (ed. 1878). They refer to the support given by the Spartan king Archidamus (15 talents and some mercenaries) to the Phocian leader Philomelus just before the latter occupied Delphi and the Sacred War began. Grote, xi. 51. *Diod. Sic.* xvi. 24, 63. In the latter passage Diodorus says of Archidamus, ὡς μάλιστα αἷτιος γεγονώς τῆς τῶν Δελφῶν καταλήψεως.

ὁμηρεύσοντες...ἀναπέμπεσθαι (cf. § 69 note), 'are now on the point of being sent up the country to Alexander to become hostages and give evidence of their humiliation (to their conqueror).' After the defeat of Agis by Antipater at Megalopolis

in the summer of this year (330). Cf. § 165; Diod. Sic. xvii. 73, ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀντίπατρος ὁμήρους ἔλαβε τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν πεντήκοντα, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. Quint. Curt. vi. 1, 16. Grote xii. 106, 107. Antiphanes ap. Athen. 681 c, Οὐκ ἐφύσων οἱ Λάκωνες ὡς ἀπόρ-  
θητοί ποτε, Νῦν δ' ὁμηρέουσ' ἔχοντες πορφυροὺς κεκρύφαλους.

ὁμηρεύσοντες: Δισχίλης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνα-  
πεμφθέντων Λακεδαιμονίων..... Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, Harpocration. εἶδον  
ὁμηρεύοντα τὸν υἱὸν τὸν Κερσοβλέπτου παρὰ Φιλίππῳ, Aeschin.  
ii. 81.

ἐπίδειξιν. Cf. ἐπιδείξω, §§ 46, 50.

ἀναπέμπεσθαι 'to be sent up the country,' i.e. into Asia, passive, as it is taken by the Scholiast, by Harpocration, and by Wolf in his Latin version. Cf. 164.

ἐν τῇ μετριότητι... κριθήσονται 'their fate will depend on,'  
'rest with.' Curt. Gr. Gr. § 456 c. Elmsley, Eur. Med. 223.

134 Ἑλλήνων, cf. § 106.

ἀγωνίζεται, as though the world were looking on: properly of contests in the public games. Cf. § 132. Dem. de Cor. 66.

τοῦ τῆς πατρίδος ἐδάφους, 'the very soil of the fatherland,' i.e. the struggle is taking place at home not abroad. Cf. Dem. de reb. Chers. 39, κακόνους μὲν ἐστὶ (Φίλιππος) καὶ ἐχθρὸς ὅλη τῇ πόλει καὶ τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐδάφει, ibid. 60. Pseudo-Dem. c. Aristogit. ii. 11. Demosthenes attributes the misfortune to the hostility of Philip, Aeschines to the policy of Demosthenes.

ἐξ ὅτου Δημοσθένης. Post hoc ergo propter hoc. Cf. Ar. Rhet. ii. 24, 8, ἄλλος (τόπος τῶν φαινομένων ἐνθυμημάτων) παρὰ τὸ ἀναίτιον ὡς αἴτιον, οἷον τῷ ἅμα ἢ μετὰ τοῦτο γεγονέναι τὸ γὰρ μετὰ τοῦτο ὡς διὰ τοῦτο λαμβάνουσι, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἐν ταῖς πολιτεῖαις, οἷον ὡς ὁ Δημάδης τὴν Δημοσθένους πολιτείαν πάντων τῶν κακῶν αἰτίαν μετ' ἐκείνην γὰρ συνέβη ὁ πόλεμος. We should have expected Aristotle to quote Aeschines here rather than Demādes. Spengel (Vertheid. Ktes. p. 70) suggests that this trial had not commenced when Aristotle was writing that chapter of the Rhetoric.

πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν προσελήλυθεν 'has taken part in the conduct of public affairs.' Cf. §§ 17 fin., 22, 217. Shilleto, Dem. F. L. § 2 n. In the section last quoted will be found an instance of πολιτεία in the same sense as here. Weidn. prefers the reading, εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν παρελήλυθεν, furtim se insinuavit, but cp. Dem. Cor. § 257 ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσελθεῖν ἔδοξέ μοι.

ἀποφαίνεται 'pronounces.' Hesiod, Op. et D. 240 ff. (Aeschines had quoted the first two of these lines with refer-



ence to Demosthenes before, *F. L.* 158. He omits here two lines, 244—5, as unsuitable to his purpose. Recent editors of Hesiod bracket the whole passage as a late insertion. Steitz, *Werke u. Tage*, p. 76 ff., Flach, *die Hes. Gedichte*.) Boys were taught to read, to learn by heart, and to sing to the accompaniment of the lyre, passages from Homer, Hesiod and other poets. *Plat. Prot.* 325 E. *Ar. Nub.* 961. A. S. Wilkins, *National Education in Greece*, p. 74.

τὰ πλήθη ‘(free) peoples.’ Bremi refers to *Dem. Phil.* II. § 24, *μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς πλήθεσι πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους*, and the similar plural *οἱ δῆμοι* which often occurs in *Dem. c. Lept.*

προσδέχεσθαι ‘to listen to (with approval).’ Cf. § 16.

135 ἀπήυρα ‘suffers from’: akin to ἀπό-Φερε, *verrere*, perhaps to ἐρύω. (*Sonne, Zeitsch. f. vgl. Sprf.* XIII. pp. 417, 433.) Both the meaning—‘to receive’—good or ill, and the construction with the gen. case, are post-Homeric. *Deinarch. in Demosth.* § 91 uses ἀπολαύειν in the same sense.

μηχανᾶται = μηχανάηται, progressive assimilation. See Peile's *Etymology*, Ed. 3, p. 257. Goodwin's *Greek Grammar*, § 120 and Pref. p. vii. “Aliter Rzach (*Dialekt* p. 447) *rem explicavit, qui assimilationem progredientem agnoscens vetustam prioris a mensuram inde ad alteram vocalem transiisse ostendit, ut indicativus μηχανάται non diversus sit a μηχανάεται.*” Flach.

136 περιελόντες τὸ μέτρον ‘stripping off,’ as it were the shell from the kernel. Cf. *Plat. Gorg.* 502 c, and Cron's note.

137 See Grote xi. p. 295. Phrynondas and Eurybatus were proverbial πονηροί: the former an Athenian who, according to Suidas s.v., ἦν κακοήθης καὶ πανούργος, μισθοῦ τινας μηχανὰς πραγμάτων ἐπὶ κακοῖς ῥαδίως συντιθεῖς. Cf. *Aristoph. Thesm.* 862, *Fragm.* 92. *Dem. de Cor.* § 24. *Isocr.* 18, 57. *Plat. Prot.* 327 D. The latter, a Lydian, is referred to by Plato (*Prot.* ubi sup.) in the dative case, Εὐρυβάτῳ. Harpocrat. s.v. and Eustathius (*Hom. Od. T.* 247) call him Eurybates. He was sent by Croesus into the Peloponnese with a sum of money to hire mercenaries, but turned traitor and went over to Cyrus.

μάγος καὶ γόης ‘magician and enchanter,’ i.e. impostor. Cf. § 16, *κακούργον σοφιστήν*, and *Dem. de Cor.* § 276 (in reference to these passages), *δεινὸν καὶ γόητα καὶ σοφιστήν ὀνομάζων*. Μάγος, the name of a Persian family which formed the sacerdotal caste (*Herod.* I. 101), see Vaníček, *Fremdwört.* p. 31: Curtius (No. 642) connects γο-η(τ)-s with γόος, γόω, cf. *incantare*. Both words were used of the summoners of spirits, the former rather with reference to good spirits, the latter to

evil. Suidas s.v. *γοητεία*. As applied to persuasive speech cp. Eurip. *Hipp.* 1038.

**τοιούτος ὅς.** With *τοιούτος* understand *ὅλος οὗτος*, Weidn. So generally, when *τοιούτος* is followed by *ὅς*, some clause containing *ὅλος* must be supplied. See on § 234, Isocr. 7, 48. 5, 47. Schneider n. Lysias 7 § 14; 13 § 63.

**γῆ...ἄνθρωποι** 'Earth and Heaven, Spirits and Men,' chiasmus. *δαίμονες*, spirits of the departed, attendant on men like guardian angels. Cf. Hesiod *Op. et D.* 121 ff. and Aesch. *Pers.* 222, 622, with Paley's notes to all three passages. ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί, cf. Dem. *de Cor.* 158.

**ὥς ἄρα**, as often, introducing the words of another, an opinion which is not that of the speaker, cf. § 13.

**τὸν καιρόν**, cf. § 239, Dem. *de Cor.* 212.

**διὰ τὰς Δημοσθένους δημηγορίας**, cf. § 256, *ὅταν φῇ ἐκπλήξαι Θηβαίους δημηγορήσας*. The circumstances of the time had, no doubt, a great effect on the Thebans, but certainly Aeschines is here undervaluing the influence of Demosthenes on their counsels. Compare the express testimony of the contemporary historian Theopompus (ap. Plut. *Dem.* 18, referred to by Grote, ubi supr.), ἡ δὲ τοῦ ῥήτορος δύναμις ἐκριπίζουσα τὸν θυμὸν αὐτῶν καὶ διακαίονσα τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἐπεσκότησε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ὥστε καὶ φόβον καὶ λογισμὸν καὶ χάριν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτούς, ἐνθουσιῶντας ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου πρὸς τὸ καλόν.

**138 πρεσβείας ἐπρέσβευσαν**, Acc. of inner object, Curtius *Gr. Gr.* § 400 a. Cognate Accusative, Goodwin, *Gr. Gr.* § 159.

Thrasybulus of Collytus (a deme of the tribe Aegëis) like his more illustrious namesake Thrasybulus of Stiria (deme of the tribe Pandionis) had taken part in the occupation of Phyle and the Piraeus (Grote, viii. 56, 59. Dem. *c. Timocr.* 134, τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς καὶ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς οὗτος ἦν). He and some ships under his command fell into the hands of the Spartan Antalcidas a little before the peace which goes by the name of the latter (Xen. *Hell.* v. 1, 26). In consequence of this he was regarded with suspicion as a traitor (Lysias 26, 23). He was also charged with having, for a bribe, changed the order of government in Boeotia (Lys. *ibid.*). Demosthenes (ubi supr.) mentions that he was twice put on his trial and imprisoned.

Thrason of Erchia (a deme of the tribe Aegëis) is mentioned by Dinarchus (*c. Dem.* 38) in company with Cephalus and others as a good citizen who had helped to maintain the freedom of Thebes against Sparta.

Leodamas of Acharnae (deme of the tribe Oenëis) pupil of Isocrates (*Vitae dec. Oratt.* 857 v) is alluded to by Demosthenes (*Lept.* 146) with Aristophon Azeniensis and others as *μαλίσθ' οἱ δεινοὶ λέγειν ἄνδρες*.

139 Archedemus (ὁ Πύληξ, i.e. of the deme Πύληκες of the tribe Leontis) mentioned also as a Boeotizer by Plutarch *de daem. Socr.* i. 575 d.

Aristophon of Azenia (deme of the tribe Hippothoontis) one of the most influential statesmen of the time following the fall of the Thirty Tyrants. Cf. *inf.* 194. c. *Timarch.* 64. *Dem. de Cor.* 162. *Lept.* 146 with Wolf's note.

Pyrrhander, possibly the orator who rebuked the people for laughing in the presence of the council of Areopagus, c. *Timarch.* 84.

τὸ αὔτιον. It is given fully in *Dem. de Cor.* 18, πρῶτον μὲν ὑμεῖς οὕτω διέκεισθε ὥστε Φωκέας μὲν βούλεσθαι σωθῆναι, Θηβαίοις δ' ὅτιοῦν ἂν ἐφησθῆναι παθοῦσιν· οἷς γὰρ εὐτυχῆκεσαν ἐν Λεύκτροις οὐ μετρίως ἐκέχρητο. 35, τῆς ἀναλγησίας καὶ τῆς βαρύτητος τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων.

140 Νίκαιαν. An important fortress on the coast belonging to the Epicnemidian Locrians, situated in and commanding the pass of Thermopylae, being 40 stades eastward of the latter (πρὸς ταῖς Θερμοπύλαις ἐστὶ φρούριον ἔντος τῶν στενῶν, Strabo ix. p. 428). It had been handed over to Philip by Phalaecus the Phocian general at the end of the Phocian war in 346 (*Aesch. F. L.* 138, "Ἀλπωνον καὶ Νίκαιαν... παραδόντος Φαλαίκου Μακεδόσιν). It was then put into the hands of the Thessalians by Philip, cf. *Dem. Phil.* ii. 22, ὅτ' αὐτοῖς (τοῖς Θεττάλοις) τοὺς τυράννους ἐξέβαλλε καὶ πάλιν Νίκαιαν καὶ Μαγνησίαν ἐδίδου. Consequently the ground of quarrel between Philip and the Thebans in 339—8 was not that which Aeschines here suggests; probably it was the occupation of Nicaea at a later period (342) by Macedonian troops, cf. [*Dem.*] *adv. Phil. epist.* § 4, ὑποπτεύεται δὲ (Φίλιππος) ὑπὸ Θηβαίων Νικαίαν μὲν φρουρὰ κατέχων. Cf. Schaefer ii. 265, 271, 402, 504. Rehdantz, *Einleitung*, §§ 66, 76. Grote (xi. 287) makes Philip transfer Nicaea from the Thebans to the Thessalians in 339. This seems hardly reconcilable with the passage above quoted from the Second Philippic (delivered in 344). Cf. Voemel in loc. *Diod. Sic.* xvi. 69.

ἐπήγαγε... ἐπ' αὐτὰς τὰς Θήβας 'brought to bear on.' Cf. *Dem. de pace*, 19, κοινὸν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀγάγωσι τὸν πόλεμον. W. with Taylor and others omits τὸν αὐτὸν πόλεμον.

Ἐλάτειαν... εἰσήγαγεν. (Cf. *Dem. de Cor.* 27), διὰ τὸ ἐπικεῖσθαι τοῖς στενοῖς καὶ τὸν ἔχοντα ταύτην ἔχειν τὰς εἰσβολὰς τὰς εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα καὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν, Strabo, lib. ix. Philip occupied this place in the winter of 339. Grote xi. 287. Cf. the famous passage in *Dem. de Cor.* § 169 ff.

ἐχαράκωσε. Cf. *Dict. Antiqq.* s.v. Vallum. *Dem. Cor.* 87.



μετεπέμψαντο. This is not true of the whole Theban people, which did not come to a decision until the envoys had been heard at Thebes. Schaef. ii. 516. 2, and Theopompus, *supr.* 137.

καὶ ἐξήλθετε ... πρὶν ... γράψαι, wilful misrepresentation, Weidn. But unless the orator trusted to the short memories of his audience, we must imagine that he had something to go upon. Perhaps a hasty levy took place before a decree was formally proposed by Demosthenes.

εἰσῆτε, (more frequently εἰσῆτε, Veitch s.v. εἶμι) impf. 'were ready to enter.' Probably the Athenians marched as far as Eleusis at the suggestion of Demosthenes. *De Cor.* 177, ἐπειτ' ἐξελθόντας Ἐλευσινάδε τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας δεῖξαι πᾶσιν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὄντας.

ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις 'armed.' Cf. Lysurg. c. *Leocr.* 37, τὴν βουλὴν καταβαίνειν εἰς Πειραιᾶ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἔδοξε, καὶ πράττειν διεσκευασμένην ὅτι αὐν δοκῇ. διεσκευασμένοι, 'after making dispositions,' 'arrangements (for battle).' Rehdantz, *Index*, p. 213. This word occurs only once in Thucydides (iv. 38, 4).

μίαν μόνην 'one single,' cf. εἰς μόνος, Plat. *Apol.* 25 b, and μία μούνη in Homer: a colloquial expression.

141 ὁ δ' εἰσάγων ἦν 'what really brought about your entrance into Thebes was—.' On this passage see Grote xi. 295, note 3.

πρῶτον μὲν 'first' followed by δεύτερον δὲ § 145 'second,' and τρίτον δὲ § 148 'third.' The first ἀμάρτημα of Demosthenes which consists in his concealing the real state of affairs with regard to Philip, Athens, and Thebes, is followed by two subordinate offences (a) πρῶτον μὲν § 142, (b) δεύτερον δὲ § 143.

μᾶλλον μισοῦντος Θεβαίων, on whose continued adhesion he had calculated, as a return for benefits conferred. Grote xi. 297.

αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα. Philip's treatment of the two cities after the battle of Chaeroneia. Grote xi. 310.

142 μηκέτι βουλευέσθαι...ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾶν μόνον 'no longer to deliberate on what terms they should conclude the alliance, but simply to be content with its taking place.' Cf. *Dem. de Cor.* 178.

ἀγαπᾶν, followed by εἰ, so § 147. *Dem. de Cor.* 220.

τοῦτο δὲ προλαβὼν 'having gained this point,' i.e. that the alliance should be concluded unconditionally.

ἐκδοτον. Cf. *supr.* 61 n.

τοῖς ὀνόμασι...πράγματα 'deceiving with his phrases and confusing the facts.' Cf. § 99, § 193. The deception lies, Aeschines would imply, in the phrase *Βοιωτοῖς τοῖς ἐν Θήβαις*. The Boeotians would understand it of their representatives in congress at Thebes, while it might really describe the Thebans as opposed to the rest of Boeotia. Demosthenes probably intended it in the former sense, and, as Bremi points out, it would give less offence at Athens than the simple *τοῖς Θηβαίοις*. οὐκ εἶπε βοηθεῖν Θηβαίοις, ἀλλ', ἵνα λάθῃ, τῇ περιφράσει ἐχρήσατο, Schol. For the use of *Βοιωτοί* as agreeable to the Thebans,—because recognising them as the head of Boeotia,—see Hicks *Greek Inscriptions* p. 123. ὡς τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς ἔργῳ κακῶς πάσχοντας, through this clause in the decree which would make them subject to Thebes. For the construction cf. § 189 and Goodwin, *Gr. Gr.* p. 301, n. 2 a. *Dem. de Cor.* § 122.

ἀγαπήσοντας τὴν σύνθεσιν. ἀγαπᾶν c. accus. 'to acquiesce in.' For the different constructions with ἀγαπᾶν see Sandys's note to Isocrates, *Paneg.* 140. *Dem. de Cor.* § 112.

143 τὰ δύο μέρη. This is confirmed by Demosthenes, *de Cor.* 297—8.

ἀνέθηκε 'saddled you with,' as a burden. Below, in a good sense, ἀνέθηκε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Θηβαίοις 'entrusted to.' Cf. *Thuc.* viii. 82. Weidn. quotes *Ar. Av.* 546 and *Nub.* 1453 in illustration of the former sense, where however the word will be found rather to bear the latter; and Cobet would read ἔθηκε.

εἰ μὴ δεῖ ληρεῖν 'if one ought not to trifle,' 'not to mince the matter.' εἰ δεῖ μὴ ληρεῖν *Dem. de Cor.* 297, 'if one must give the thing its right name,' Weidn. οὐ δεῖ ληρεῖν occurs [*Dem.*] *Phil.* iv. 55. Cobet would read δεῖ μὴ.

φέρων. Cf. § 82 n.

παρὰ τὸν γενόμενον πόλεμον 'in the course of,' 'throughout.' Cf. § 37.

Στρατοκλέα. *Diod. Sic.* (xvi. 85) mentions only Chares and Lysides as Athenian commanders present at Chaeroneia. But Polyænus (*Strateg.* iv. 2, 2) speaks of Stratocles as in command of the battle and as being outmanœuvred by Philip.

We hear nothing from any other authority of any subordination of the Athenian to the Theban land force. E. Mueller conjectures that the clause relating to the supreme command may have been worded like that in *Thuc.* v. 47, ἡ δὲ πόλις ἡ μεταπεψαμένη τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐχέτω, ὅταν ἐν τῇ αὐτῆς ὁ πόλεμος ᾗ. ἦν δὲ ποι δόξῃ ταῖς πόλεσι κοινῇ στρατεῦεσθαι, τὸ ἶσον τῆς ἡγεμονίας μετεῖναι πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν.

144 οὐκ ὀργίζεσθε, i.e. you always acquit him when he is accused. With this Demosthenes agrees, *de Cor.* 249.

ἐκεῖνο...πρὸς Δημοσθένην 'the fact is, your feelings towards Demosthenes have come to be these.'

συνείσθε. Dobree refers to Cicero (*pro Milone*, 76, of Clodius) *sed nescio quo modo iam usu obduruerat et percalluerat civitatis incredibilis patientia.*

145 τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν 'the deliberative assembly and the government of the people.'

ἔλαθεν ὑφελόμενος. Cf. § 94.

μετήνεγκεν 'removed.'

τὴν Καδμεῖαν, the citadel of Thebes. In reference to the wish of Epaminondas (Aeschin. *F. L.* 105), 'Επαμεινώνδας οὐχ ὑποπτήξας τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀξίωμα εἶπε διαρρήδην ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν Θεβαίων, ὥς δεῖ τὰ τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλεως προπύλαια μετενεγκεῖν εἰς τὴν προστασίαν τῆς Καδμείας. According to Aeschines, Demosthenes had in a manner fulfilled the desire of the Theban enemy.

τῶν πράξεων 'ways and means.' Shilleto to Dem. *F. L.* 146 (133).

τοῖς Βοιωτάρχοις. Thuc. iv. 91 τῶν ἄλλων Βοιωταρχῶν, οἳ εἰσιν ἑνδεκα, οὗ ξυνεπαινούντων μάχεσθαι...Παγώνδας ὁ Αἰολάδου Βοιωταρχῶν ἐκ Θεβῶν μετ' Ἀριανθίδου τοῦ Λυσιμάχου καὶ ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῦ...ἔπειθε τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς λέναι ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. The editors (Classen, Boehme, Krueger, etc.) following Boeckh (*Corp. Inscript.* i. 729) refer the relative οἳ in this passage to the preceding Βοιωταρχῶν only, and take eleven to be the total number of the Boeotarchs, two coming from Thebes, the rest from the other Boeotian states. So Grote ii. 296. This view is supported by the Scholiast to Thuc. ii. 2. Arnold and Cobet (*Var. Lect.* p. 451) refer the relative to the preceding τῶν ἄλλων Βοιωταρχῶν, regarding these as opposed to the two Theban Boeotarchs, and so make out the total number to be thirteen. So *Dict. Antiqq.* 205 a.

συνθέμενος 'having agreed upon'...'in concert with.'

δυναστείαν 'terrorism.' Curtius, *Gr. Hist.* v. 433 n. Cf. supr. 3 n. Plutarch, *Dem.* 18 οὕτω δὲ μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐφάνη τὸ τοῦ ῥήτορος ἔργον ὥστε...ὑπηρετεῖν μὴ μόνον τοὺς στρατηγούς τῷ Δημοσθένει ποιούντας τὸ προσταττόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς Βοιωτάρχας, διοικεῖσθαι δὲ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἀπάσας οὐδὲν ἥττον ὑπ' ἐκείνου τότε τὰς Θεβαίων ἢ τὰς Ἀθηναίων, ἀγαπωμένου παρ' ἀμφοτέροις καὶ δυναστεύοντος οὐκ ἀδίκως οὐδὲ παρ' ἀξίαν, ὥσπερ ἀποφαίνεται Θεόπομπος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ προσηκόντως.



κατεσκεύασεν ‘cunningly contrived,’ *supr.* 95, *infr.* 223.

ἤδη παριῶν...ἔφη ‘he went so far as to come forward... and say.’ For ἤδη *cp.* § 52.

πρεσβεύσειν ὅποι ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ. Cf. *Dem. de Cor.* 178 χειροτονῆσαι κελεύω δέκα πρέσβεις καὶ ποιῆσαι τούτους κυρίους μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν. “The recommendation of Demosthenes was adopted...Demosthenes himself being named chief of the ten envoys.” *Grote xi.* 291—2. “Probably in mission to other cities also for the purpose of pressing military efforts.” *Ibid.* 301. Cf. *Plut. Dem.* 18. *Schaefer Dem.* ii. 527. 1. The Scholiast here says, ὁ Δημοσθένης τοῦτο ἔλεγεν, ἵνα μὴ Φίλιππος μαθὼν ὅτι πρέσβεις πέμπομεν πέμψῃ τοὺς ἀντεροῦντας καὶ ἀντιπρεσβευσομένους· βούλομαι λάθρα ὑμῶν πρεσβεῦσαι. κακοήθησιν οὖν ὁ Αἰσχίνης.

146 εἰ δέ τις αὐτῷ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀντίποι As Phocion did. Cf. *Plut. Phoc.* 16, *Curtius, Gr. H.* v. 428, 432.

διαδικασίαν. διαδικασίαι formed a subdivision of the δίκαι πρὸς τινα (suits which do not involve punishment, opp. to δίκαι κατὰ τινος those which do). In them the question at issue is the gaining possession of a thing claimed by several persons, or the acceptance of an obligation which it is desired to shift from oneself to another, or the claim to a right or privilege. *Schoemann, Gr. Antiqq.* p. 482 *Eng. trans.; der Attische Process* p. 471. C. R. Kennedy gives the English equivalent ‘interpleader,’ *Dem.* Vol. v. pp. 86—87. See his note on the word, *Dem.* Vol. iii. pp. 372—3, and *The Student’s Blackstone*, p. 370. *Lysias* 17 § 1. Translate ‘an action to decide the right of precedence on behalf of the orators’ tribune against the generals’ office,’ i.e. to have the question settled which was supreme.

στρατήγιον, the official meeting-place of the ten στρατηγοὶ at Athens, ‘the War-office.’ *Plutarch Nic.* 5 and 15.

μισθοφορῶν δέ ‘but, in the case of the mercenary force, receiving pay for soldiers’ places not filled up, for ‘men of straw.’ Inspectors were sometimes sent to ascertain the real number of a mercenary force and so prevent the general from appropriating the pay of soldiers who existed only on the roll. Cf. *Dem. c. Timarch.* 113 ἐξεταστὴς τῶν ἐν Ἑρετρῷ ξένων. *de fals. leg.* 177. *Boeckh, Publ. Econ. of Athens.* Vol. i. p. 389, *Eng. trans.*

καὶ τὰ στρατιωτικά...κλέπτων ‘embezzling the pay of the forces.’

τοὺς μυρίους ξένους. “To march against Athens was his (Philip’s) first idea; he must have been encouraged in it by

the fact that 10,000 mercenaries under Chares were sent over thence to the Amphisians on the advice of Demosthenes. This was in the highest degree imprudent, or did Demosthenes believe that he could with this handful of men keep Philip in Phokis and conquer him? It almost seems so. Athens thereby, as Aeschines justly objects, only weakened her own power and played into the hands of the king: that ten thousand would have been very useful at Chaeroneia, had it not been sacrificed at Amphissa." Spengel, *Verth. Ktes.* 49. Dinarchus i. 74 speaks of another officer, ἐπὶ τοῖς ξένοις τοῖς εἰς Ἀμφισσαν συλλεγεῖσι Πρόξενος ὁ προδότης ἐγένετο, but from the context and from Polyænus (iv. ii. 8), who mentions both Chares and Proxenus, it appears that the latter was a Theban. Schaef. ii. 513. 3. Grote xi. 302. Dem. *de Cor.* § 237.

διαμαρτυρομένου καὶ σχετλιάζοντος 'protesting and complaining.' Σχετλιάζειν est clamare aliquid σχέτλιον esse, improbum et iniquum, intolerabile. Br.

προσέμιξε φέρων...τῇ πόλει 'he wantonly brought the danger to the city's doors, defenceless as she was after the destruction of her mercenaries.'

ἀναρπασθέντων 'being thus snatched from us.' Cf. § 133 n. The generals commanding this mercenary force were deceived by a despatch of Philip's, which he took care should fall into their hands, announcing his intended return to Thrace; abandoned their watch at the narrow parts of the road, and were then attacked and defeated: so that this mercenary force of 10,000 was lost to Athens and did not save Amphissa. τοὺς στρατηγούς ἀναστρέψαντας ἐνίκησε καὶ τῆς Ἀμφίσσης ἐκράτησε, Polyænus l. c.

ἀπαρασκεύω, unprovided (with mercenaries), cf. § 70 μὴ μόνοι μηδ' ἀπαράσκευοι πολεμήσαιμεν. φέρων 'wantonly,' 'muth-willig,' Weid..cf. §§ 82, 143.

147 τί γάρ...εὔξασθαι; A common line of argument from Homer downwards. Cf. *Il.* i. 255. Dem. *de Chers.* 20.

πολιτικὴν δύναμιν, § 98 n.

τηλικαύτης πληγῆς, Plut. *Dem.* 18 Φίλιππος ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν Ἀμφισσαν εὐτυχίας ἐπαιρόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάτειαν ἐξαίφνης ἐνέπεσε.

οὐκ ἀγαπᾷ εἰ μὴ κ.τ.λ. Cf. § 142 n. Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, p. 120.

τοῦτ' ἤδη ἀγανακτεῖ is a well-supported reading, 'he goes so far as to be indignant,' cf. §§ 52, 145. He is not content with the distinction, he actually prescribes the manner in which it is to be conferred.

ὥς ἔοικε 'naturally,' 'of course.'

δημοσίας συμφοράς. The coronation and proclamation (from Aeschines' point of view): which the *πονηρὰ φύσις* of Demosthenes induces him to demand and his *μεγάλη ἐξουσία* enables him to obtain. So Weidner; and Dobree, *splendide dictum sed hoc loco potius αλσχύνην expectares quam συμφοράς*.

148 τῶν προειρημένων μέγιστον, mixture of the two constructions μέγιστον πάντων and μέλζον τῶν προειρημένων. Curtius, *Gr. Gr.* § 416. 2. Classen, *Thuc.* i. i. 1.

οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀσύνητος. Cf. *Dem. Olynth.* i. 3 πανοῦργος ὦν καὶ δεινὸς ἄνθρωπος πράγμασι χρῆσθαι.

πρεσβείας Cobet *πρεσβεῖς* "legationem unam missurus erat ad omnes Graecos qui arma consociaverant." But the next sentence seems to contradict this; as there were evidently separate negotiations.

φοβουμένων...ἐπαίδευσεν. Cf. *Plut. Dem.* 18 τὸ μὲν οὖν συμφέρον οὐ διέφευγε τοὺς τῶν Θηβαίων λογισμούς, ἀλλ' ἐν ὄμμασιν ἕκαστος εἶχε τὰ τοῦ πολέμου δεινὰ, ἔτι τῶν Φωκικῶν τραυμάτων παραμενόντων.

λιπὼν τὴν τάξιν, see on § 152.

149 ἀλλ', ὥς ᾤετο, τοῦτο κήρυγμά τι τοῖς Βοιωτάρχαις κ.τ.λ. *Ita distingue*: οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων λέγοντος, οὐθ' ὥς δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς Φίλιππον εἰρήνην, οὐθ' ὥς οὐ δεῖ· ἀλλ', ὥς ᾤετο, τοῦτο κ.τ.λ., Markland. τοῦτο est *accusativus obiecti*, κήρυγμά τι *accusativus praedicati*. Κήρυγμα...*tropice significat iussum, cui tanquam a summo magistratu mandato sit obtemperandum*: "hoc quasi publica auctoritate sancitum," Br. Transl. 'But, as he thought, giving the Boeotarchs by this speech a sort of public warning to allow his share of the (illgotten) gains to reach him.' For the parenthetic ὥς ᾤετο cf. *Dem. c. Timarch.* 58 τοσοῦτον ἀργύριον μάτην, ὥς ᾤετο, ἀνηλωκώς. *H. Stephanus securus atque otiosus dedit* τούτῳ κηρύγματι τοῖς Βοιωτάρχαις κ.τ.λ.—*quam puto esse praestantiorē lectionem*, Taylor. Weidner strikes out both the words ᾤετο and τοῦτο. One ms. omits τοῦτο, and perhaps this omission gives the most satisfactory text. For the construction τοῦτο κήρυγμά τι *προκηρύττων* see Goodwin, *Gr. Gr.* § 137, note 4, § 166, note 2.

λήμματα, dishonest gains. Cf. *Dem. Ol.* ii. 28.

150 Compare Grote, xi. 304.

διώμνυτο 'solemnly swore' (supr. 99), followed by an acc. case of the deity sworn by. So Dinarchus i. 47 ἐπιωρκηκώς



μὲν τὰς σεμνὰς θεὰς ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς, οὓς ἐκεῖ διόμνυσθαι νόμιμόν ἐστι.

τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, cf. Pausan. i. 28. 2, τῶν ἔργων τῶν Φειδίου θεάς μάλιστα ἄξιον Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναθέντων καλουμένης Λημνίας, the chryselephantine statue in the Parthenon. The Athene Promachos (of bronze) was also the work of Phidias. Paus. *ibid.* ἄγαλμα Ἀθηνᾶς χαλκοῦν ἀπὸ Μῆδων τῶν ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἀποβάντων, τέχνη Φειδίου ταύτης τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἡ τοῦ δόρατος αἰχμῇ καὶ ὁ λόφος τοῦ κράνους ἀπὸ Σουνίου προσπλεύουσιν ἐστὶν ἥδη σύννοπτα. Cf. Dem. *F. L.* 272.

ἐνεπιορκεῖν ‘to practise his perjury on,’ ‘to perjure himself by.’ Cp. ἐνδυστυχῆσαι, ἐνευδοκιμεῖν Dem. *de Cor.* 198.

ἀπάξειν, technical term, of the arrest of a criminal caught *flagrante delicto*. Kennedy’s *Demosthenes*, Vol. III. Appendix VIII. pp. 357—8. Wayte on Dem. *Andr.* § 26. Lysias 10 § 10.

εἰς τὸ δεσμοτήριον, i.e. before the Eleven, who had the care of the prison, and the cognizance of cases of summary arrest. See Lysias l. c. *Dict. Antiqq.* 593 a. Cf. Dem. *Phil.* III. 60.

Κλεοφῶντος, Cleophon the demagogue, an energetic opponent of peace with Sparta, after the victory at Cyzicus in 410 according to Diodorus XIII. 52, 53 (after that of Arginusae, the Scholiast to Aristophanes, *Ran.* 1532, but see Grote VII. 1. 2 n.). Cf. Aeschin. *F. L.* 76 Κλεοφῶν ὁ λυροποιὸς... ἀποκόψειν ἡπείλει μαχαίρα τὸν τράχηλον εἴ τις τῆς εἰρήνης μνησθήσεται. Schol. Ar. *Ran.* Κλεοφῶν, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶ,—ἐπεισε τὸν δῆμον μὴ προσδέεσθαι ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μεθύων καὶ θώρακα ἐνδεδυκώς. According to the Scholiast in loc. he is alluded to by Euripides, *Orest.* 902—6, καπὶ τῷδ’ ἀνίσταται Ἀνὴρ τις ἀθυρόγλωσσος κ.τ.λ. He is blamed by Aristophanes, Isocrates, Diodorus, Aeschines (cf. *F. L.* 76), acquitted of corruption by Lysias (19 § 48). See the full notes of Kock to Arist. *Ran.* 679 and Frohberger to Lysias, *c. Agorat.* § 7. Grote VII. 364, VIII. 18, Curtius III. 471, 535. For his death in a riot, see Xen. *Hell.* 117, 40.

ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου ‘in the time of the war,’ cf. §§ 132, 178, 234.

ἀνέστρεψαν ‘requested that the troops which had started from Athens should face about and return’ (= “sent them to the right about”). ἀναστρέφειν, a military term cf. Xen. *Hell.* VI. ii. 21.

151 ὁ τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐδέποτ’ ἀντιβλέψας ‘he who never looked the enemy in the face.’ This and similar phrases denote the presence or absence of fear or shame. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* VII. i. 30, νῦν ἀγαθοὶ γεγόμενοι ἀναβλέψωμεν ὀρθοῖς ὄμμα-

σιν. Plut. *Ages.* 33, ἐπεὶ πρότερόν γε φασιν οὐδὲ ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἀντιβλέπειν τοὺς ἄνδρας αἰσχυνομένους ἐφ' οἷς ἔπαισαν and in the following section, βλέπων εἰς τὰ τούτων πρόσωπα.

δόξωσι. Goodwin, *M. & T.* p. 26.

παράταξιν 'battle.' Cf. § 88.

152 τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν Compare the eulogy of Lysurgus, c. *Leocr.* §§ 46 ff.

ἀθύτων...ἱερῶν cp. § 131.

τοῖς δραπέταις ποσὶ. δραπέτης quod plerumque substantive ponitur hoc loco adjective positum est. Br. Cf. ὀλεσρος γραμματεὺς Dem. *de Cor.* 127. λόχοι φύλακες Xen. *An.* 6. 3. 9. οἰκέτης βίος Eur. *Ion*, 1373. λόγος ἔπαινος Plat. *Phaedr.* 260 v. Such substantives (Krüger, *Gr.* 57. 1. 3) were originally adjectives, and in this connexion are rare in good prose. Cf. Lat. fugitivus.

This imputation of peculiar cowardice at Chaeroneia appears for the first time in § 148 and is often repeated in this speech, 175, 244, 253, cf. Plut. *Dem.* 14, Δ. οὐκ ὦν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀξιοπίστος, ὥς φησιν ὁ Δημήτριος. Other enemies and later writers give details. Pytheas ap. Plut. *Dem.* 20, ἀποδρὰς αἰσχιστα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ῥίψας οὐδὲ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τῆς ἀσπίδος, ὥς ἔλεγε Πυθέας, αἰσχυνοθεὶς ἐπιγεγραμμένης γράμμασι χρυσοῖς· 'Αγαθῇ τύχῃ. Dinar-chus c. *Dem.* 12, ἔλιπες μόνος αὐτὸς τὴν ἐκεῖ τάξιν. Lucian, *de Paras.* 42. Gellius xvii. 21, who makes Demosthenes when reproached with his flight quote the line ἀνὴρ ὁ φεύγων καὶ πάλιν μαχήσεται: till we come to the story in the *Vitae dec. orat.* 845 E, ὅθεν (ἐκ Χαιρωνείας) καὶ δοκεῖ τὴν τάξιν λιπεῖν, φεύγοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ βάτον ἐπιλαβέσθαι τῆς χλαμύδος, τὸν δὲ ἐπιστραφέντα εἰπεῖν 'ζώγρει'. The reply of Demosthenes will be found in *de Cor.* 245—248. Schaefer, *Dem.* iii. 32, 2. Grote xi. 306.

ἐγκωμιάζειν. Theopompus (ap. Plut. *Dem.* 21) blamed the selection of Demosthenes as the orator to pronounce the λόγος ἐπιτάφιος: ὥστε καὶ τῶν ὁστέων ἐκ Χαιρωνείας κομισθέντων καὶ θαπτομένων τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἔπαινον εἰπεῖν ἀπέδωκεν (ὁ δῆμος), οὐ ταπεινῶς οὐδ' ἀγεννῶς φέρων τὸ συμβεβηκός, ὥς γράφει καὶ τραγωδεῖ Θεόπομπος, ἀλλὰ τῷ τιμᾶν μάλιστα καὶ κοσμεῖν τὸν σύμβουλον ἀποδεικνύμενος τὸ μὴ μεταμέλῃσθαι τοῖς βεβουλευμένοις. See Dem. *de Cor.* 285—288.

For details respecting the public interment of the bones of those who had died in the service of their country, which took place in the outer Ceramicus every year, in times of both war and peace, see Thuc. ii. 34, Isocr. *de Pace*, 87, Cic. *Orator*, ch. xlv. § 151, Schaefer, *Dem.* iii. 31. 4. The λόγος ἐπιτάφιος

appended by Callimachus to the works of Demosthenes is declared by Dionysius to be evidently undemosthenic in form and contents: ὁ φορτικὸς καὶ κενὸς καὶ παιδαριώδης ἐπιτάφιος. Schaefer, *Dem.* iii. 33. 3.

τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετὴν following οὐς ἐκπέμψας. Weidner points out that the transition from the relative to the demonstrative, common enough in two clauses of a sentence joined by καὶ οὕτε etc. (cf. *supr.* 118, 128), occurs here in one clause through the connexion of a participle with a finite verb, and that the only illustration of this usage given by Krüger (*Gr. Gr.* 60. 7. 3) is *Xen. Hier.* vi. 1, βούλομαι σοὶ κάκεινας τὰς εὐφροσύνας δηλώσαι ὅσας ἐγὼ χρώμενος, ὅτ' ἦν ἰδιώτης, νῦν, ἐπειδὴ τύραννος ἐγενόμην, αἰσθάνομαι στερόμενος αὐτῶν. He adds *Cic. de Or.* i. 91, in quibus...me in illo numero...proferebat. An exactly similar passage occurs in Plato, *Menex.* 239 D, γονεῖς ἡμέτεροι ὦν καὶ δίκαιον καὶ χρῆ πρῶτον μεμνημένους ἐπαινέσαι αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρετὴν, quoted by Kühner, *Gr.* ii. p. 936.

ἀχρηστότατε...θαυμασιώτατε. 'Ομοιόπτωτον' κλητικὴ γὰρ πῶσις ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν κῶλων τέτακται. Alexander *ap. Rhet. Graec.* iii. p. 36, Teubner series. This σχῆμα occurs in the nom. case in *Dem.* ii *Phil.* 21, in the acc. case in *Dem. de Chers.* 6, *Rehdantz, Ind.* i. s.v. It is, in fact, a kind of rhyming. *Volkman, Rhetorik*, p. 411.

ἐπιχειρήσεις. This is Reiske's conjecture. The mss. have ἐπιχειρήσειν ἐτελήσεις or τολμήσεις. Reiske says, "facile enim factu fuit, ut ἐτελήσεις, quod aliquis super ἐπιχειρήσεις pro scholio scripsisset, alius, minus intelligens quid sibi vellet, in textum inferret." Bremi and Franke retain ἐπιχειρήσειν ἐτελήσεις. Scheibe in his review of Franke's text (*Jahns Jahrbücher*, lxviii. p. 157) points out that, while this would be the only place where we find the future of a verb of willing with the fut. inf. of a similar verb dependent on it and another infinitive dependent on this, still ἐπιχειρήσεις would hardly need explanation by means of ἐτελήσεις even for a very unintelligent reader. The two infinitives may well have been used for the sake of emphasis and the passages (*Plat. Rep.* v. 459 c s. f. κινδυνεύει δεήσειν χρῆσθαι, [*Isocr.*] *Trapez.* 359 c ἡγοούμεν—κινδυνεύσειν—γενήσεσθαι) quoted by Lobeck, *Phryn.* p. 748 n., though not exactly parallel, are in favour of the ms. reading. See also *Herod.* vi. 137, ἐπιβουλεύοντας ἐπιχειρήσειν.

βλέπων εἰς τὰ τούτων πρόσωπα. Formula est impudentiam notans. Br. cp. § 137 and § 151 ἀντιβλέψας n.

συναποθανεῖται...μνήμη. Cf. *Lycurg.* 50, συνετάφη γὰρ τοῖς τούτων σώμασιν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερία.



153 γένεσθε τὴν διάνοιαν 'transfer yourself in thought to the theatre.' Cf. 157, 186. Acc. case as in *c. Timarch.* 179, ἐπειδὴν τὰς ψυχὰς ἐφ' ἐτέρων γένησθε. Goodwin, *Gr.* § 160.

νομίσαθ' ὁρᾶν. The figure διατύπωσις frequently employed by Aeschines. Cf. inf. 157. Cornificius (*Cic. ad Herenn.*) iv. 55, 68 renders διατύπωσις by *demonstratio*. *Demonstratio est, cum ita verbis res exprimitur, ut geri negotium et res ante oculos esse videatur.* Volkmann, *Rhet.* pp. 217—8.

ἐπεισιούσιν 'that will be brought on the stage.' So εἰσιέναι of the actors § 204, and ἐπεισάγειν of the poet §§ 231, 207.

ἀγνωμοσύνη 'want of feeling,' 'callousness,' cf. *Soph. Trach.* 472 ff. and see §§ 170, 244. *Dem. Mid.* 97, τὸν οὕτως ὥμῳ, τὸν οὕτως ἀγνώμονα. *de Cor.* 209.

154 ἐλευθερίως Vel sine libris in Ctesiph. § 154 corrigendum est παιδευθεὶς ἐλευθερίως, pro ἐλευθέρως. Cobet, *Nov. Lect.* 104. ἐλευθερίως = liberally (of education), ἐλευθέρως = freely (of speech), cf. *Herod.* viii. 73 ἐλευθέρως ἔξεστι εἰπεῖν. All edd. adopt this correction. So in *Isocr. Paneg.* 49, *Areopag.* 43, ἐλευθερίως τεθραμμένους is now read "sine libris" for ἐλευθέρως. Cf. *Aesch. F. L.* 23.

ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. During the great Dionysia. *Dict. Ant.* 412 b, 462 b. Kennedy's *Demosthenes*, iii. 285.

γίγνεσθαι, cf. 34, 41.

προστάταις 'leaders.' *Xen. Mem.* iii. 4, 6, λέγω ἔγωγ', ἔφη, ὥς οὗτοι ἂν τις προστατεύῃ, ἐὰν γιγνώσκῃ τε ὧν δεῖ καὶ ταῦτα πορίζεσθαι δύνηται, ἀγαθὸς ἂν εἴη προστάτης, εἴτε χοροῦ εἴτε οἴκου εἴτε πόλεως εἴτε στρατεύματος προστατεύοι. Cf. i. 2, 32, and 40 Περικλεῖ προστάτῃ ὄντι τῆς πόλεως.

τοὺς ὀρφανούς. According to *Diog. Laertius* (i. 55) Solon introduced the custom that the orphans of citizens who had fallen in battle for their country should be reared at the expense of the State—δημοσίᾳ τρέφεσθαι καὶ παιδεύεσθαι. Cf. *Thuc.* ii. 46. *Hyperid. Epitaph.* perorat. In their eighteenth year they were publicly declared of age in the theatre during the greater Dionysia and dismissed from the guardianship of the State. *Plato, Menex.* 249 A, συνεκτρέφει—ἐν πατρὸς σχήματι καταστᾶσα αὐτοῖς αὐτῇ ἔτι τε παισὶν οὖσι, καὶ ἐπειδὴν εἰς ἀνδρὸς τέλος ἴωσιν (εἰς ἀνδρας τελέσωσιν, Lobeck), ἀποπέμπει ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερ' αὐτῶν πανοπλία κοσμήσασα. *Isocr. de Pace*, 82, τοῖς Διονυσίοις—ἐπειδὴν πλῆρες ἦ τὸ θέατρον—παρειαῖον τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τετελευτηκότων. *Aristotle (Pol.* ii. 8, 5) speaks of the custom of maintaining at the public cost the orphans of citizens killed in battle as still existing at Athens, but Aeschines here implies

that no such orphans had been presented in the theatre for some years past, Schaef. iii. ii. p. 33.

ἐτρεφε. ἐθρεψε, Cobet, N. L. 114.

ἀγαθὴ τύχη 'under the blessing of heaven.' Plat. Crit. 43 D, ἀνάγκη δὴ εἰς αὔριον ἔσται, ὃ Σώκρατες, τὸν βίον σε τελευτᾷ. Σ. ἀλλ' ὦ Κρίτων, ἀγαθὴ τύχη. Formula qua utebantur Graeci boni ominis causa, cum vel ipsi vel alii aliquid susceperent. Lat. *quod bene vertat, quod bonum felix faustumque sit.* Stallbaum. Cf. Dem. Olynth. iii. 18. It was an initiatory formula in treaties, Thuc. iv. 118. Cf. § 152 note, the inscription on Demosthenes's shield at Chaeroneia.

ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν sc. οἰκήματα, Schol. Cf. P. A. Aristides, i. p. 310, ed. Dindorf. (ἐνομίσατε) τοὺς παῖδας (τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως τελευτησάντων) δημοσίᾳ τρέφειν ἄχρι ἡβης, καὶ τηνικαῦτα ἀποπέμπειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πατρῷους οἴκους μετὰ τῶν πανοπλιῶν.

εἰς προεδρίαν, the front seat in the theatre at festivals, to witness the games, § 76: an honour conferred on those citizens or foreigners who had deserved well of the State. Ar. Eq. 575. There was a special seat called ἐφηβικὸς assigned to the ἐφηβοί. Ar. Av. 794 Schol. Pollux, iv. 122. Herod. 9, 73.

155 τὸν τῆς ὀρφανίας αἴτιον. Cf. Lys. xxvi. 12, ὅταν ἴδωσιν ἐστεφανωμένον καὶ ὀρφανῶν κύριον γεγεννημένον, ὧν ἐνίοις αὐτὸς οὗτος τῆς ὀρφανίας αἴτιος γεγέννηται.

τί ποτ' ἀνερεῖ; Ex antiqua scriptura ΤΙΠΟΤΑΝΕΡΕΙ omnium librorum scribae elicuerunt τί ποτ' ἂν ἐρεῖ, unus τί ποτ' ἂν αἰρῇ sed correctum ἐρεῖ, in uno vera lectio ἀνερεῖ reposita est. Cobet, Hyp. Ep. 48. τί ποτ' ἀνερεῖ = τί ποτε κηρύξει; cf. supr. 40, 122. ἀνείπε ibid. ἀνηγόρευε, and the passive 46, 147. Dem. de Cor. 149.

καὶ γὰρ ἐὰν nam etiamsi. Cf. Dem. Phil. i. 11, iii. 4.

αὐτὰ τὰ προστάγματα 'only the clauses,' 'singulae psephismatis partes.' Bake cp. § 127 n. The directions alone, without more detail, would call forth contradiction.

ἀλλ' οὐ...σιωπηθήσεται 'yet the disgrace which the truth involves will find a voice.' Non tacebit Dedecus ex ore Veritatis proditum, sed occlamabit praeconi. Reiske: see his note. Truth is represented as replying with reproaches to the praises of the herald. ἀλλὰ—γε, ἀλλ' οὖν—γε, after hypothetical and other clauses, 'yet surely.' Cf. §§ 11, 157.

σιωπηθήσεται. Many mss. give the usual form σιωπήσεται which W. now adopts.

εἰ δὴ καὶ οὗτος ἀνὴρ 'if he is really a man.' εἰ δὴ 'if really,' introduces a limiting parenthesis, ἐστὶ being omitted, cf. § 11, c. *Timarch.* 51, εἰ δὴ τι τῶν τοιούτων μέτριον. The same imputation of ἀνανδρία occurs in Aesch. *F. L.* 139 and 148, ἡ μὲν ἐμὴ μήτηρ ἔφυγε μετὰ τοῦ αὐτῆς ἀνδρὸς εἰς Κόρινθον καὶ μετέσχε τῶν πολιτικῶν κακῶν, σὺ δὲ ἀμφισβητῶν ἀνὴρ εἶναι, οὐ γὰρ ἂν τολμήσαιμι εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀνὴρ εἶ, ἐγράφης λιποταξίου. c. *Timarch.* 167.

156 **τρόπαιον ἴστατε** Aeschines uses here the active voice of ἴστημι in this connexion, as Thucydides always, i. 30, ii. 22 etc. and Demóstheneſ c. *Lept.* 76, 80. Plato, *Menex.* 240 D etc. Xenophon is the only Attic who uses the middle, which he does generally, *Anab.* iv. 6, 27, vi. 5, 32 etc. having the active only in the *Hellenica*, as i. 2, 3, 10 etc. A. Proebſch in *Philologus*, xxxviii. p. 185.

ἀφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν 'at your own expense,' 'a memorial of your own defeat.' Frequentissimus est usus particulae ἀπὸ, ubi tropaei de populo positi mentio fit, fortasse inde, quod armis tropaea ornari solebant, victo hosti detractis. Wolf, note to Dem. *Lept.* § 78. Cf. § 116.

αἰρεῖτε 'convict.' Cf. inf. 251, παρανομίας ἐαλωκώς. § 59. Dem. *Mid.* 11, τῶν ἐλόντων—τῶν ἡλωκότων. Allusion is made to the παρανομία γραφή, see *Dict. Ant.* 865. Xen. *Mem.* i. 2, 49, Ar. *Nub.* 844.

φυγόντας διὰ τοῦτον 'deprived of their country through the policy of Demosthenes.' § 58 n. Dem. *Lept.* 55.

ὑποδέδεχθε, cf. § 161 οὐ προὔδοτε n.

τέκνα. As this word seems out of place, τεμένη and τείχη have been conjectured. Weidn. adopts the latter but refers to a fragment of Polybius, οὐ μόνον σφᾶς ἀπολωλεκότας, ἀλλὰ καὶ βίον καὶ τέκνα καὶ πόλεις ἄρδην κατεστροφότας. These are the common topics urged on soldiers fighting for their country, and therefore are mentioned as the objects lost by its ruin. See Aeschyl. *Persae* 404 ὦ παῖδες 'Ελλήνων ἔτε | ἐλευθεροῦτε πατρίδ', ἐλευθεροῦτε δὲ | παῖδας, γυναῖκας, θεῶν τε πατρώων ἔδη | θήκας τε προγόνων.

τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον. Cf. § 239 n.

157 ἀλλὰ ταῖς γε διανοαῖς. Cf. § 155 n. A famous instance of διατύπωσις, §§ 153 n. 130 n. Descriptionem quae sequitur laudat Theo, Rhetorum non ultimus. Taylor. In his προγυμνάσματα Theo quotes first Hom. *Il.* ix. 593, 594, then Dem. *F. L.* 65 and this passage, as instances of παράφρασις (cum verbis aliis una res effertur).

ἀλικομένην τὴν πόλιν, τειχῶν κατασκαφάς, κ.τ.λ. Asyndeta in pairs, cf. § 193.



ἐπισκῆπτοντας 'solemnly adjuring you not to': so in Thuc. II. 73, III. 59.

ἀλιτήριον See § 131 n.

τύχην Demosthenes replies to this reproach on his ill luck in *de Cor.* 252, 270, 275.

τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, bitterly. So Demosthenes of Philip, ἀνθρωπος *Phil.* I. 9 n., τὸν ἀνθρωπον *de Chers.* 35 etc.

φυλάσασθαι 'to be on your guard against.' Cf. *Dem. de Pace*, §§ 17, 23. Rehdantz nn.

158 Cf. § 114.

ιδιώτης, *ibid.* n.

ἀπήλλαξε 'came off.' Cf. Aesch. *F. L.* 33, καταγελάστας ἀπαλλάξαντα. *Demosth. de Cor.* § 65.

εἰς Σαλαμίνα The distance across to Salamis is about a mile. There is still a ferry plying, which takes about half an hour from the foot of Mt Skarmangá.

ἀνατρέψῃ 'upset.' Cf. *Dem. Phil.* III. 69.

αὐτοσχεδιάζειν 'to make bungling experiments on.' Artis discendae periculum facere in corporibus Graecorum. Reiske. In *Xen. Rep. Lac.* 13. 5 the αὐτοσχεδιαστής is opposed to the τεχνίτης. Cf. *Xen. Mem.* III. 5. 21. Bremi derives the word from σκεδία, 'a raft.' Curtius assigns σχεδὸν and σχεδία to different roots εχ, and σκεδ, *Gr. Et.* Nos. 170, 294.

ἐπευθύνειν 'to direct again the helm of state,' a word suggested by the reference to the ferrymen. The ἐπὶ gives the notion of putting things right after an accident or upset, cp. ἐπισκευάζειν 'to refit.'

159—167 Aeschines here reaches his fourth period: from the battle of Chaeroneia to the present time B.C. 338—330. In this period the conduct of Demosthenes has been a mixture of wanton irritation to our allies, cowardice, and alternate provocation and abject submission to Alexander. He pretended to have instigated the rising in the Peloponnese; he predicted my ruin when Alexander was in difficulties, but never proposed any effective measure in any juncture.

159 τὴν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. Post πόλεως videtur aliquid deesse. Reiske. Schultz partially reconstructs the passage thus, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν [ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως...ἀπέδρα γὰρ] ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τριήρη προσλαβὼν ὑμῶν κ.τ.λ. Cf. 253, 226. Deinarchus (I. 80—82) repeats this charge, αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν πρεσβευτὴν κατασκευάσας, ἢ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀποδραίῃ, (ῥήγετο) συσκευασάμενος (ἐκ) τῆς διοικήσεως ὀκτὼ τάλαντα κ.τ.λ. After the battle of Chaeroneia ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο ἐνόχους εἶναι τῇ προδοσίᾳ τοὺς φεύγοντας τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος κίνδυνον *Lycurg. c. Leocr.* § 53. Envoys were sent to Troe-

zen, Andros, Ceos to solicit aid (ibid. § 42) and collect money; to these Aeschines and Deinarchus are probably here alluding. Compare [Plut.] *Vit. dec. or.* p. 845, *τρίηρους τ' ἐπιβάς περιέπλευσε τοὺς συμμάχους ἀργυρολογῶν*. Demosthenes was also at this time appointed *σιτώνης* (victualler) for Athens, crowded as it was with fugitives (Dem. *de Cor.* 248); and possibly it was for this *σιτωνία* that the eight talents mentioned by Deinarchus were entrusted to him. Boehneck, *Attisch. Redn.* 549. 4. "The two hostile orators treat such temporary absence of Demosthenes on the embassy to obtain aid, as if it were a cowardly desertion of his post," Grote, xi. 309. 1. See Schaef. iii. 10. 14.

**τρίηρη—ἀργυρολόγησε.** This word is used invidiously. Cf. *ἀργυρολόγοι ναῦς*, Ar. *Eq.* 1071, Thuc. iii. 16, iv. 50, sent to collect sums of money from friend or foe, not merely legal tribute but special sums, impoverishing the unhappy islanders. Boeckh, *Staatsh.* i. 763. The construction of the verb *ἀργυρολογεῖν* is different in Thuc., see ii. 69, Shilleto n.

**τῆς ἀπροσδοκῆτου σωτηρίας.** The unexpected clemency of Philip towards Athens after the battle of Chaeroneia in the peace obtained by the envoys Demades Aeschines and Phocion, §§ 57, 227. Polyb. 5. 10 *Φίλιππος νικήσας Ἀθηναίους τὴν ἐν Χ. μάχην οὐ τοσοῦτον ἤνυσε διὰ τῶν ὅπλων ὅσον διὰ τῆς ἐπιεικειᾶς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας τῶν τρόπων*.—χωρὶς λύτρων ἀποστείλας τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους—τὸ Ἀθηναίων φρόνημα καταπληξάμενος τῇ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ. Grote xi. 310, 311.

**τοὺς μὲν πρώτους χρόνους.** Followed by *ἐπειδὴ δὲ* in the next §, the terror of Demosthenes after the battle being contrasted with his boastfulness on hearing of Philip's death.

**ἄνθρωπος.** Cf. §§ 99, 157.

**ἡμιθνής.** Cf. Aeschin. *F. L.* 34, *φθέγγεται τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο προοίμιον σκοτεινὸν καὶ τεθνηκὸς δειλία*. See Dem. *Cor.* 320 *τηνικαῦτα κ.τ.λ.*

**εἰρηνοφύλακα...χειροτονεῖν**, i.e. declared his willingness to do what he could to maintain the peace. A. Schaef. iii. 29. 1.

**ὕμεις δὲ [κατὰ μὲν τοὺς πρώτους χρόνους].** In his *verbis quae paullo ante iam habuimus parum elegantes secunda vice ponuntur*. Oratorem addidisse non credo. Hamaker. Taylor omitted them: Weidner brackets them.

**ἐπιγράφειν.** Plut. *Dem.* 21, *τὸν μὲν οὖν (ἐπιτάφιον) λόγον εἶπεν ὁ Δημοσθένης, τοῖς δὲ ψηφίσμασιν οὐχ ἑαυτὸν, ἀλλ' ἐν μέρει τῶν φίλων ἕκαστον ἐπέγραφεν, ἐξοιωτισμένος τὸν ἴδιον δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην, ἕως αὐθις ἀνεθάρρησε Φιλίππου τελευτήσαντος*. Cf. Aeschin. i. 188, *τοιούτων ῥητόρων ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ δήμου γνώμας ἐπιγραφομένων*, which the Schol. explains *ἐγράφετο γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν, ὁ*

δεῖνα εἶπεν, Αἰσχίνης ἢ Τίμαρχος ἢ τις ἕτερος. See also II. 68 and infr. 167.

**Ναυσικλεῖ.** Dem. de Cor. 114, Ναυσικλῆς στρατηγῶν, ἐφ' οἷς ἀπὸ τῶν ιδίων προεῖτο, πολλάκις ἐστεφάνωται ὑφ' ὑμῶν. This was probably the Nausicles who commanded the Athenian force which in 352 occupied Thermopylae, and so saved it from the attack of Philip. Grote xi. p. 100. From the wording of Aesch. F. L. 18, 184, the friend of Aeschines there mentioned would seem to be another person. Schaef. II. 309, 182.

160 With this § read 77, 78 supr.

**πάλιν αὖ,** *rursus* 'as before.' Cf. Soph. Phil. 952, 1232.

**τερατεύομενος** 'playing the marvellous.' Cf. Aesch. F. L. 49, *τερατεύσάμενος*, ὥσπερ εἴωθε, τῷ σχήματι. 98, *ψεύδεται καὶ κατηγορεῖν οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ἔχων τερατεύεται*. The word is used of solemn gestures and phrases, implying also exaggeration and falsehood. Cf. Ar. Eq. 626 (of Cleon), *ελασίβροντ' ἀναρρηγνύς ἔπη τερατεύομενος*, and Nub. 318 *τερατεία* (humbug). So Isocr. Panath. I. τοὺς *τερατείας καὶ ψευδολογίας μεστούς*.

**ἱερὰ ἰδρύσατο Πανσανίου** 'erected a temple in honour of Pausanias,' the assassin of Philip. Cf. Herod. I. 105, VI. 105, Ἀθηναῖοι ἰδρύσαντο Πανὸς ἱρόν, and so often in the passive, of the consecration of a temple to some deity, I. 172, II. 44. The plural *ἱερὰ* (sacred objects) seems to occur only here in this sense, and perhaps comprises the whole furniture of the *ἱερόν* as given in Herod. IV. 108, *ἱρὰ κατεσκευασμένα ἀγάλασι τε καὶ βωμοῖσι καὶ νηοῖσι*. See Valckenaer's note to Herod. VI. 19. Lycurg. c. Leocr. 1. Plat. Prot. 322 a. Aeschin. Tim. § 140. Dict. Antt. 1104 b, 1105 a. Pausanias the murderer of Philip. Grote xi. 320 ff. Plutarch has (Dem. 22) *εὐθὺς οὖν ἔθνον εὐαγγέλια καὶ στεφανοῦν ἐψηφίσαντὸ Πανσανίαν*, i.e. his *ἄγαλμα*. Thirlwall, c. XLVII. renders the words 'moved that religious honours should be decreed to the memory of P.,' finding a difficulty in the coronation of a dead murderer. Some of the translators have the same. 'Sacra instituit' F. and F.

**εἰς αἵτιαν...εὐαγγελίων θυσίας** 'involved the Senate in the guilt (with Alexander) of offering a sacrifice for good news.' *θύειν εὐαγγέλια*, cf. Ar. Eq. 656, *στεφανοῦν εὐαγγέλια*, *ibid.* 647.

**τὴν βουλὴν.** The remonstrance of Phocion seems to have prevailed with the people. *εὐαγγέλια θύειν τὸν δῆμον οὐκ εἶα· καὶ γὰρ ἀγεννὲς εἶναι ἐπιχάριεν κ.τ.λ.* Plut. Phoc. 16. So, acc. to the Scholiast, Alexander addressed a letter shortly afterwards to the Athenians, Ἀλέξανδρος τῷ μὲν δῆμῳ χαίρειν, τῇ δὲ βουλῇ οὐδέν.



**Μαργίτην**, formed like *Θερσίτης*, from *μάργος*, the fool, one who has no self-control. *Hom. Od.* xxiii. 11. *Eur. Electr.* 1027 Paley n. He is the hero of a satirical poem attributed to Homer, of which but four lines remain, one being *Πόλλ' ἡπίστατο ἔργα κακῶς δ' ἡπίστατο πάντα*. *Plat. Alcib.* ii. 147 c. As Alexander admired and imitated Achilles, the hero of the *Iliad*, Demosthenes compares him to the silly hero of the *Margites*. *Plut. Alex.* 5. *Arrian, Exp. Alex.* Lib. vii. s. f., κατὰ ζῆλον τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, πρὸς ὄντινα ἐκ παιδὸς φιλοτιμία ἦν αὐτῷ. The Schol. here and Eustathius on *Hom. Od.* x. 552 give particulars of the folly of Margites. See *Polyb.* 12. 4.

**ἀγαπᾶν** 'was content,' *Dem. de Cor.* 112.

**περιπατοῦντα**. An allusion to the tuition of Aristotle. *Plut. Alex.* 5, σχολὴν μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς καὶ διατριβὴν τὸ περὶ Μίεξαν νυμφαῖον ἀπέδειξεν, ὅπου μέχρι νῦν Ἀριστοτέλους ἔδρας τε λιθίνας καὶ ὑποσκίους περιπάτους δεικνύουσιν.

**τὰ σπλάγχχνα φυλάττοντα** 'inspecting the entrails' of victims, as a man of undecided and unwarlike character. Cf. *Polyb. Hist.* Lib. vii. 11, κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἐθισμόν ἐκ τῶν τυθέντων ἱερείων προσενεχθέντων αὐτῷ (Philip V.) τῶν σπλάγχχνων, δεξιὰ μὲν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἤρετο, τί δοκεῖ τὰ ἱερεῖα σημαίνειν. *Plutarch, Alex.* 75, speaking of a later period, οὐδὲν ἦν μικρὸν οὕτως τῶν ἀήθων καὶ ἀτόπων, δὲ μὴ τέρας ἐποιεῖτο καὶ σημεῖον· ἀλλὰ θυομένων καὶ καθαιρόντων καὶ μαντευόντων μεστὸν ἦν τὸ βασιλεῖον. The Schol. gives the explanation ἀγαπῶντα ἐὰν ζήσῃ, with reference to the dangers which beset Alexander on his accession, "content to keep a whole skin." This is followed by Schaefer, Benseler and others.

**αἵματος...ὥνία** 'that valour is purchasable only at the price of blood,' i.e. readiness to lose blood by wounds in battle. The word αἷμα is of rare occurrence in Demosthenes. In *F. L.* 254 (284) it has a similar meaning, θάττον γὰρ ἂν τοῦ αἵματος ἦ λόγου μεταδοῦναι τι. ἀρετὴ here is almost the result of valour, 'reputation or glory.' *Pind. Olymp.* 5, 15; 7, 89; *Pyth.* 11, 54; *Isth.* 1, 41.

**αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔχων αἷμα**. Here αἷμα is the symbol of physical strength, in which Demosthenes was deficient. ἐξ ἀρχῆς κάτισχνος καὶ νοσώδης, *Plut. Dem.* 4. ἀσθενὴς τῷ σώματι, *Libanius, Vit. Dem.* see *infr.* 255. Cicero may have had this passage in mind, *Pro Sestio*, § 24, hominibus enervatis atque exsanguiibus. Cf. (*Aeschin.* apud) *Dem. de F. L.* 283 (324) οὐδὲν ἐστ' ὄφελος πόλεως ἥτις μὴ νεῦρα ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀδικούντας ἔχει. Quoted in *Hahn's* note to *Cic. Sest.*

**ἐκ...φύσεως** 'in accordance with,' 'in the light of.'

161 See Grote xi. 338 ff. Schaef. iii. 86 ff.

**Θετταλῶν.** In 336, two months after Philip's death, Alexander (aetat. 20) made his first expedition into Greece, and soon won over the Thessalians. *ἔπεισε τὴν πατροπαράδοτον ἡγεμονίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτῷ συγχωρῆσαι κοινῷ τῆς Θεσσαλίας δόγματι.* Diod. 17. 4.

**περὶ Θήβας.** πλησίον τῆς Καδμείας καταστρατοπεδεύσας ἐπέστησε τὸν φόβον τῇ πόλει τῶν Θηβαίων. Diod. *ibid.*

**πρεσβευτής.** Acc. to Deinarchus (*in Dem.* 82) he declined the office, *ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρεσβεῖν ἔδει περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, οὐκ ἂν ἔφασκεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξελθεῖν οὐδὲ τὸν ἕτερον πόδα.* If he did undertake the office and return at Cithaeron, as Plutarch also says (*Dem.* 23), it may be that Alexander refused him safe-conduct. Grote 339 n. 2. Schaef. 89. Diodorus 17. 4 suggests two reasons for this return, *ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος ἀνέκαμψεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, εἴτε διὰ τὰ πεπολιτευμένα κατὰ Μακεδόνων φοβηθείς, εἴτε βουλόμενος τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Περσῶν ἀμεμπτον αὐτὸν διαφυλάττειν. πολλά γὰρ χρήματά φασιν αὐτὸν εἰληφέναι παρὰ τῶν Περσῶν ἵνα πολιτευῇ κατὰ Μακεδόνων· περὶ ὧν καὶ τὸν Αἰσχίνην φασὶν ὀνειδίζοντα τῷ Δημοσθένει κατὰ τινα λόγον τὴν δωροδοκίαν εἰπεῖν, Νῦν μέντοι τὸ βασιλικὸν κ.τ.λ.,* *inf.* 173.

**ἐκ μέσου τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος** i.e. before he crossed the frontier, the road to Thebes going by the pass of Dryos-Cephalae over Cithaeron.

**οὐ προὔδοτε.** In 335 (Alexander's second expedition into Greece) after the fall of Thebes and the reception of Theban fugitives by the Athenians. Cf. § 156. Justin xi. 4, *portas refugiis profugorum contra interdictum regis aperuere. Quam rem ita graviter tulit Alexander, ut secunda legatione denuo bellum deprecantibus ita demum remisit, ut oratores et duces, quorum fiducia toties rebellent, sibi dedantur.* Eight of these were demanded by Alexander, the leaders being Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and Charidemus. Alexander alleged that these were to blame for the revolt of Thebes (Arrian, i. 10), and Aeschines takes the same view, *διὰ τοῦτον*, § 156. Cf. Plut. *Phoc.* 17; *Dem.* 23. *Dem. de Cor.* 41, 322.

**κριθῆναι ἐν τῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεδρίῳ.** Schaefer (iii. 198. 3) refers this passage and *Dem. de Cor.* 322, *Ἀμφικτυονικὰς δίκας ἐπαγόντων (μοι)* to § 254 *infr.*, where Aeschines mentions an impending general Hellenic conference. It will however be more agreeable to the context to suppose that a general meeting is alluded to, proposed by Alexander after the destruction of Thebes, but which, owing to this refusal of the Athenians, did not take place. So Weidn. and Benseler.

The Amphictyonic Council was the court appointed to try

cases of breach of treaty in which the allied Greek states were interested. Schaef. iii. 52, 3. It is possible, as Dissen suggests, that the pretext for accusing Demosthenes was his open antagonism to Philip when the latter was acting as Amphictyonic general. Dem. Cor. 322.

**162 οἱ Πάραλοι.** The crew of the swift-sailing State-ship *Paralus*. Cf. Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iii. 6. 2, ἐνταῦθα (at Tyre) ἀφικνεῖται παρ' αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἡ Πάραλος ἄγουσα Διόφαντον καὶ Ἀχιλλέα· ξυνεπρέσβευον δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ Πάραλοι ξύμπαντες. Thuc. viii. 73, τοὺς Παράλους, ἄνδρας Ἀθηναίους τε καὶ ἐλευθέρους πάντας ἐν τῇ νηὶ πλέοντας. The *Salaminia* and *Paralus* were kept ready for extraordinary purposes and emergencies.

**Ἀριστίων Πλαταικός.** When Plataea was destroyed by the Thebans in 373 Athens received the fugitives. Cf. Isocr. *Plataicus*. Aristion is mentioned by Harpocration 34, Ὑπερείδης κατὰ Δημ. οὗτος Σάμιος μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ Πλαταιεύς, ὡς Δίνυλλός φησιν, ἐκ μειρακυλλίου δ' ἑταῖρος Δημοσθένους, ἐπέμφθη δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἡφαιστίωνα ἔνεκα διαλλαγῶν, ὡς φησι Μαρσύας ἐν ε' τῶν περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον.

**εἰ—ἄρα** 'if perchance.' Cf. Dem. *Ol.* iii. 26. Lycurg. 136, εἴ τις ἄρα ἔστιν αἰσθησις τοῖς ἐκεῖ περὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε γιγνομένων. Herod. 8, 109, ἵνα ἦν ἄρα τί μιν καταλαμβάνη πρὸς Ἀθηναίων πάθος κ.τ.λ.

**ἐτέρων τὴν ὄψιν διαφέρων γενόμενος.** Cf. c. *Timarch.* 75, μειράκιον—τὴν ὄψιν ἐτέρων διαφέρων. One ms. omits γενόμενος, and it is now generally struck out of the text. Bake conjectured ὀρφανὸς γενόμενος. For the use of διαφέρων and other present participles as predicate adjectives after εἶμι and γίγνομαι see § 208 ἐστὶν ὑπάρχων which Cobet condemns. Goodwin, *M. T.* 215. 5. Cf. Isocr. *Areop.* 45, ὀρῶντες τοὺς μὲν διαφέροντας γιγνομένους. Aesch. c. *Timarch.* 134, ἐὰν κάλλει καὶ ὥρᾳ διενεγκόντες ἐκπλήξωσί τινας. The combination διαφέρων γενόμενος does not occur elsewhere.

**πράττων ἢ πάσχων.** Cf. *Timarch.* § 41.

**ὑποτρέχει** 'creeps into the favour of.' Cf. Eur. *Or.* 670, κοῦχ ὑποτρέχων σε τοῦτο θωπεῖα λέγω. Supr. 90, ὑπέβαλλε μ. Plat. *Legg.* 923 B.

**διὰ τούτου.** Cf. supr. 104 n.

**εὔρηται** 'he has managed to secure for himself.' Dem. *Lept.* 1, King n. Herod. 9, 28 παρὰ δὲ σφίσι εὔροντο παρὰ Πανστανίῳ ἐστάναι...τοὺς παρεόντας τριηκοσίους.

**διαλλαγᾶς.** A truce between two parties hitherto belligerent. Cf. Dem. *Ol.* ii. 1. Andocid. *de Pace* 36.

**163 ἐκείθεν** 'from what follows.' Cf. 195. So ἐκείνως, 59, 168.



ὡς ὁμοίον ἐστι...αἰτία 'how closely the fact corresponds to (and so corroborates) the accusation.' Cf. 191. αἰτία, opp. to ἐλεγχος, accusation without proof. αἰτία ἐστίν, ὅταν τις ψιλῶ χρησάμενος λόγῳ μὴ παρασχῆται πίστιν ὧν λέγει. Dem. Androt. 22. Cf. *de Cor.* § 14.

τρεῖς...καιροί. The victorious career of Alexander proves amply that not one of these three periods presented even decent encouragement for a reasonable Athenian patriot to involve his country in warfare against so formidable an enemy. Nothing can be more frivolous than these charges. Demosthenes does not notice them in his reply partly for this reason, still more perhaps on another ground, that it was not safe to speak out what he thought and felt about Alexander. Grote, xii. 111, 112.

εἰς μὲν ὁ πρῶτος cf. §§ 54, 61 here followed by ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ—οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα, elsewhere by δεύτερον δέ § 55.

εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διέβη. 334 B.C. Schaef. iii. 144. 3. Grote xi. 397 ff. Plut. *Alex.* 15, ἀπὸ μικρῶν καὶ στενῶν οὕτως ὁρμώμενος. ἥκμαζε Grote xi. p. 400.

βούλει σε ὧ...τρόπῳ interrogative subjunctive, Goodwin, Gr. 291.

οὐκ ἀναμένει 'the state's opportunity waits not for the orator's cowardly indecision.' Cf. § 54 Dobree quotes Dem. *Phil.* i. 37, οἱ δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων οὐ μένουσι καιροὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν βραδυτῆτα καὶ εἰρωνειαν. Cf. Thuc. i. 142, 1 τοῦ πολέμου οἱ καιροὶ οὐ μενετοί. Liv. 31, 48, *non expectare belli tempora moras ac dilationes*. There is a reference to the proverb ἀγὼν πρόφασιν οὐκ ἀναμένει, Plat. *Crat.* 421 D, where the Schol. cites a fragment of Aeschylus (36 Dindorf),

ἀγὼν γὰρ ἄνδρας οὐ μένει λελειμμένους.

164 κατεβεβήκει. Cf. ἀναπεμπεσθαι, 133, 'had gone down to the coast,' from Sochi in Syria to Issus in Cilicia. Polyb. 12, 17. See the plan illustrating the battle of Issus (B.C. 333) in Grote xi. 448.

ἀπειλημμένος 'shut in in the passes of Cilicia.' Cf. Xen. *An.* ii. 4. 17, λῦσαι τὴν γέφυραν ὡς μὴ διαβῇτε ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ ἀποληφθῇτε τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς διώρυχος. Thuc. 5, 59, 3. Herod. 8, 109.

σύ—σοῦ emphatic, "You knew of this state of things, why did you not use the opportunity?" παρὰ, § 40 n.

συμπατηθήσεσθαι. Arrian, ii. 6. 5, makes the courtiers of Darius use this expression, καταπατήσιν τῇ ἵππῳ τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν στρατίαν ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν αὐτῷ ἐπαίροντες ἐπέλεγον. The

defeat of Alexander was generally expected. Cf. Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* xi. 8. 3, ἡσθεὶς τῇ Δαρείου καταβάσει ὁ Σαραβαλλέτης—πέπειστο γὰρ οὐκ αὐτὸς μόνος ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ μηδ' εἰς χεῖρας τοῖς Πέρσαις ἤξειν τοὺς Μακεδόνας διὰ τὸ πλῆθος.

τὴν σὴν ἀηδίαν 'you and your unpleasantness.' Theophrastus (20) gives a sketch of the character of the ἀηδὴς in which a main ingredient is boastfulness. Ill-breeding also is implied. Cf. Jebb n.

οὐκ ἐχώρει 'was not big enough for.' Cf. Dem. *Phil.* iii. 27, οὐθ' ἡ Ἑλλάς οὐθ' ἡ βάρβαρος τὴν πλεονεξίαν χωρεῖ τάνθρωπον. *Mid.* 200, ἡ πόλις αὐτὸν οὐ χωρεῖ. Eurip. *Hipp.* 940

θεοῖσι προσβαλεῖν χθονί  
ἄλλην δεήσει γαῖαν, ἣ χωρήσεται  
τοὺς μὴ δικαίους.

ὡς ἐξηρτημένος... περιήεις 'which you walked about with suspended to your fingers.' The letters were tied with a string which Demosthenes put round his fingers. Cf. Dem. *Phil.* iii. 49, τοιοῦτον ἐξηρτηῆσθαι στρατόπεδον, 'to have—attached to him.' Deinarchus in Dem. § 36 repeats this, παρ' αὐτῷ γράφων ἐπιστολὴν ἐκ τῶν δακτύλων ἀναψάμενος περιεπορεύετο. For the construction, see Goodwin, *Gr.* 244 n. 2.

χρυσόκερων. The victim about to be sacrificed was crowned and its horns were gilt. Cf. Hom. *Od.* iii. 436 (cp. ib. 425)

γέρων δ' ἱππηλάτα Νέστωρ  
χρυσὸν ἔδωχ'· ὁ δ' ἔπειτα βοὸς κέρασιν περιέχευεν  
ἀσκήσας, ἵν' ἄγαλμα θεὰ κεχάροιτο ἰδοῦσα,

where Ameis refers to Tibull. iv. 1, 15, *Semper inaurato taurus cadit hostia cornu.* Virg. *Aen.* v. 366. Liv. vii. 37, and other passages.

κατεστέφθαι 'was ready crowned' for sacrifice. Cf. Act. Apost. xiii. 14. There is no occasion to read κατεστέψεσθαι. Demosthenes probably used the very words of the answer of the Pythian priestess to Philip, when consulting her about his proposed expedition against the Persian king, preserved by Diod. Sic. xvi. 91, ἔστεπται μὲν ὁ ταῦρος, ἔχει τέλος, ἔστιν ὁ θύσων, which Philip understood as favourable to himself; τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς οὐχ' οὕτως εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον ἐσήμενεν ἐν πανηγύρει καὶ θεῶν θυσίαις τὸν Φίλιππον ὥσπερ τὸν ταῦρον ἐστεμμένον σφαγήσεσθαι. Cf. Pausan. viii. 7. 11. Ovid, *Met.* x. 271.

165 ὑπέρ see on Dem. *de Cor.* § 9.

Λακεδαιμόνιοι Under Agis in the early part of B.C. 330. § 133, ὀμηρεῦσοντες n. Grote xii. 105 ff. Diodor. Sic. 17, 62—3.

τὸ ξενικόν Greek mercenaries who had fled from the battle of Issus. Diod. xvii. 48, κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην Ἄγεις μὲν τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐν Ἰσσοῦ μάχης διασωθέντων μισθοφόρων ἀναλαβὰν ὀκτακισχιλίους νεωτέρων πραγμάτων ἀντείχετο χαριζόμενος Δαρείω.

ἐπέτυχον μάχῃ 'were successful in a battle.' We have no other information of this success. For ἐπέτυχον cf. Xen. *Hell.* 4.15, 19 ἐκ τούτου μάλα καὶ τᾶλλα ἐπιτύχανεν Ἴφικράτης.

τοὺς περὶ Κόρραγον. A Macedonian of this name is mentioned in Diodorus (17, 100) and Aelian *V. H.* 10, 22, as a man of extraordinary strength, but not in connexion with this war, and perhaps they are different persons.

συμμετεβάλλοντο 'changed sides,' i.e. they joined Sparta to which they had been opposed before.

ἔξω τῆς ἄρκτου...οἰκουμένης that is, beyond the bounds of the habitable world as conceived by the Greeks. The phrase 'beyond the Bear' must not be pressed. Asia was conceived as occupying the N.E. quarter of the world, the extent to the N. being unknown. See Polyb. 3, 36—38. Alexander was in Bactria.

ἕως ἂν εἴπῃς 'until you shall have told it.' This is equivalent to the offer of giving up part of the speaker's time (ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι Dem. *de Cor.* 139), an offer only meant *ad invidiam*.

166 ᾄ...ἀκροώμενοι; a rhetorical question takes the place of the ordinary apodosis. See Dem. *de Cor.* §§ 126, 294.

σιδήρειοι 'o men of iron!' sarcastic, 'you must have had nerves of steel to stand out against his big blustering words.' This seems better than to suppose it to mean 'cold,' 'unimpassioned.' The word is rare in a metaphorical sense. In Lysias 10 § 20 it means 'stupid,' in Plutarch *Cicer.* 26 'hard-hearted,' 'disobliging.' The rule in Attic is to attract these adjectives, and Cobet and Franke accordingly read *σιδήροι* and are followed by Weidner and Simcox. But the mss. here are unanimous, and it seems better on the whole to follow them.

ἔφη παρελθόν no such metaphors exist in any of the extant works of Demosthenes, who, though not denying their use (*de Cor.* 126, 232), seems to imply some exaggeration on the part of Aeschines. For παρελθόν of orators 'coming forward to speak' cp. Demosth. *de Cor.* § 22.

ἀμπελουργοῦσι...τὴν πόλιν 'treat the city as vine-dressers do vines.' The following phrases are quoted by Aeschines without any context, as certain ridiculous expressions employed by Demosthenes in this harangue. There is no necessary connexion between them, though the two first are drawn from the same source, i.e. vine-dressing. ἀνατετμήκασι 'have cut back,' 'pruned.'



ὑποτέμνεται 'have been traitorously cut,' the metaphor seems to be from the hamstringing of a horse or other animal. For τὰ νεῦρα τῶν πραγμάτων 'the sinews of the state,' cp. a line of Epicharmus, twice quoted by Polybius (18, 40; 31, 21) νῆφε καὶ μεμνησ' ἀπιστεῖν ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρενῶν. Bremi quotes Cicero c. *Rullum* § 91 *nervis urbis omnibus exsectis urbem ipsam solutam et debilem relinquunt.* Pollux 2, 234 ὅθεν καὶ τὸ ἰσχύειν νεῦρα ἔχειν λέγουσι, καὶ τὰ χρήματα νεῦρα τῶν πραγμάτων. Cp. 'money the sinews of war.'

**φορμορραφούμεθα** If Demosthenes ever did use this word it was perhaps a fair subject of ridicule. *φορμός* is a wicker basket used principally for corn (Lysias 22 § 5). *φορμορραφεῖν* must mean to 'sew' or 'stitch' such a basket. *φορμορραφεῖσθαι* 'to be riddled with holes like a basket as it is sewn.' The metaphor of the next sentence, ἐπὶ τὰ στενά τινες ὥσπερ τὰς βελόνας διείρουσι 'are drawing us like needles into narrow places' [or, as others, 'our lips are being sewn up,' Demosth. 2, § 21 τοιαῦτα ἐρεῖν ἔφη, ὥστε ἀπορράψαι τὸ Φιλίππου στόμα ὁλοσχοίνῳ ἀβρόχῳ], seems to be connected with the same thing, but it is hard to believe that it is not corrupt, and to explain it on any rational plan. Sch. ἐπὶ τὰ δυσχερῆ. [Could we, by inserting one letter, read ἐπὶ τὰ στέρνα τινες ὥσπερ τὰς βελόνας διείρουσι 'certain persons are as it were threading their needles to begin upon our breasts,'—'they are preparing to be at us,' 'to riddle us'? In this case πρῶτον of the mss. might stand—'as a preparatory measure.' Cp. Cicero 2 *Phil.* § 86 *Num expectas dum te stimulis fodiamus?* The metaphor is a harsh, not to say absurd one, but that is what Aeschines is attacking Demosthenes for.]

167 ταῦτα δὲ...ῥήματα ἢ θαύματα 'are we to call these phrases or mere gasconades?' Schol. οἶονεὶ παραδοξολογήματα τερατώδη 'mere bugbears meant to frighten us.' Cp. § 160.

κίναδος cp. Dem. *de Cor.* §§ 127, 162, 242.

κύκλῳ περιδινῶν 'twisting yourself about.' For these extravagances in action on the part of speakers, see Plutarch *Nic.* c. 8; and Demosthenes' reply to these taunts, παραδείγματα πλάττων καὶ ῥήματα καὶ σχήματα μιμούμενος, *de Cor.* § 232.

τὰ Λακωνικὰ the rising in Sparta under Agis § 165.

ἀφιστάναι 'caused them to revolt' from Alexander. Cp. § 256 ἀποστῆσαι Ἀκαρνᾶνας.

σὺ γάρ very emphatic. 'You cause a single village to revolt!'

μὴ ὅτι, 'not only:' probably, 'do not (say) that,' = 'it is not enough to say that.' Hadley, *Gr. Gr.* 1035 a.

**προσκαθίζῃσαι**, 'you will sit watching the contest' like a third combatant (*ἔφεδρος*) ready to engage with the winner. So, of watching for one's own advantage, Dem. *de pace* 15 τοῖς δ' ἀγαθοῖς ἐφεδρεύων ἕτερος καθεδεῖται. Cf. Soph. *Aj.* 600. The metaphor is from the Palaestra, Dem. *Phil.* i. 5. Aeschines does not mean to reproach Demosthenes merely with doing nothing, but with 'wishing to wound but yet afraid to strike,' of watching for his opportunity when money is going with a malevolent neutrality. [Simcox adopts *προσκαθίσεις* with one ms., but this form seems not to have been used intransitively in Attic. See Rutherford *New Phrynichus* p. 337.]

The termination *-ει* has some slight ms. authority here and in *F. L.* 117, and is, no doubt, purer Attic. It is everywhere restored by the editors as in the following *προσποιήσῃ* and *infr.* 210, 219, 242, though the mss. give the later form in *-η*. Cobet, vii. p. 144.

**αὐτόματον** sc. without any action of yours.

**συμβῇ**, in a good sense, *si quid contigerit*.

**ἐπιγράψαις**, see § 159 n.

168—176 Conclusion of the third and main division of the argument which commenced § 53. A 'locus communis:' characteristics of the *ἀνὴρ δημοτικός*—Demosthenes does not possess the qualities indispensable for a democratic leader (*Volksfreund*). Compare the answering description, from Demosthenes' point of view, *de Cor.* 122.

168 **ναί, ἀλλά** 'yes, but.' Particles introducing an objection, cp. §§ 28 n. 84. Cf. *νῇ Δέ* ἀλλά Dem. *de Cor.* 117, and 251.

**πρὸς—εἰς**. The change of preposition may be for variety. Cobet and Weidner read *εἰς τὴν εὐφημίαν* with two mss. **εὐφημία** here *suaviloquentia*, Ennius ap. Cic. *Brut.* 58, 'pleasantness of sound.'

**ἀποβλέπητε** 'if you regard exclusively.' See Dem. *de Cor.* § 210.

**ἐκείνως**, cp. §§ 59 n. 163 n. 195.

**λόγον ἀπολάβετε** 'demand an account' as due. Cf. *ἀπαιτεῖν, ἀποδοῦναι* etc. §§ 27, 58 n.

**ὀλιγαρχικόν**. A common term of reproach in the mouth of the *δημαγωγός*. Frohberger, *Lysias* xxv. 11.

**φαῦλον**. Atheniensibus *δημοκρατίας*, ne dicam *ὀχλοκρατίας*, studiosissimis, *ὀλιγαρχικός* et *φαῦλος* idem erat. Br. *σώφρων* and *φαῦλος* are here the antithesis: the good soberminded citizen, and the vulgar disloyal agitator.

μη ὁποτέρου...ἐστίν 'to which of the two patterns his life, not his language corresponds.'

169 τῷ δημοτικῷ. Schol. δημοτικὸς χαίρων τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ. πρὸς...μητρὸς 'free-born both on his father's and mother's side.' This was of great importance in the eyes of the Athenians, and various laws had been passed on the subject; but to enforce it was in fact to prevent mixed marriages, which was in practice found impossible. A child was enrolled in the phratria of his father in his first year (Isae. 8, 19; Andoc. *Myst.* 125), but if his father was a non-citizen it had become the practice to enrol him in the phratria of his maternal grandfather. Pericles, about B.C. 444, had enforced the regulation of both parents being citizens, and had thereby caused 5000 citizens to be struck off the roll. But if the father was a citizen it was difficult to prevent the child from being enrolled on the ground of his mother's extraction; and we know from Aristophanes how frequent the reproach against leading citizens that they were not true-born Athenians was (see for instance Arist. *Av.* 1669; *Ran.* 417, and the epithet Παφλαγῶν applied to Cleon). In B.C. 403 fresh legislation was introduced enforcing the condition of both parents being citizens (Dem. 1307; Grote VIII. p. 110). But the practice seems to have always been loose, in spite of the law. The possibility of reproaching Demosthenes on this point shews how far-reaching this feeling was. His father was an Athenian, and his mother was the daughter of an Athenian also, Gylon. But Gylon had settled in the Crimea and married a wife of that country, and therefore Demosthenes had foreign blood in his veins. Schaefer I. p. 262 ff.

τοῖς νόμοις, i.e. especially the laws regulating the conditions of citizenship.

ἀπὸ...ὑπάρχειν 'that he should have some patriotic service on the part of his ancestors to go upon.' The word is here used generally, but εὐεργεσία and εὐεργέτης were technical terms formally used by states and carrying certain privileges. See Xen. *Vect.* 3, 11; Demosth. *Lept.* § 30; *F. L.* § 330; Xen. *Hellen.* 1, 1, 26 where the title is given to the Syracusans by the people of Antandros. Xen. *de civ. Ath.* 3, 11.

τό γ' ἀναγκαιότατον 'at the very least.'

βοηθῶν 'by way of supporting,' 'to cover.' Cp. Antiph. 125 μήτε βοηθοῦντες ταῖς τούτων ἀτυχλαῖς ἐνάντια τοῦ δαίμονος γνῶτε.

ἀτυχήματα is an euphemism for ἀτιμία, cf. συμφορά in this sense. Dem. *Mid.* § 58.

170 μέτριον 'respectable.' Dem. *de Cor.* § 10. The word expresses the Greek dislike of anything extreme or *outré* in



life or character,—the preference of Nicias to Alcibiades. Cp. οὕτω τὸ λίαν ἥσσον ἐπαινῶ τοῦ μηδὲν ἄγαν· καὶ ξυμφήσουσι σοφοί μοι (Eur. *Hipp.* 265). τῶν μετρίων τοῦνομα νικᾷ (Eur. *Med.* 125). εἴη μοι ζῆν μέτρια (Eur. *Ion* 632).

ἀσέλγειαν ‘extravagance.’ Cp. (Dem.) in *Neacr.* § 30, ἀσελγῶς καὶ πολυτελῶς διάγοντα τὸν βίον.

κατὰ τοῦ δήμου ‘against the interests of the people.’

εὐγνώμονα ‘right-minded.’ Cp. Dem. in *Tim.* 137, εὐγνώμων ψυχῇ. [Dem.] *Epist.* 3, § 43, εὐχεσθαι μὲν ὡς εὐγνωμονεστάτων (γονέων) τυγχάνειν, φέρειν δὲ τοὺς ὄντας εὐμενῶς.

καλὸν...προαίρεσθαι...πέθειν ‘for it is a good thing that an orator’s intellect should be such as to adopt the best line of policy, and his learning and eloquence to carry his hearers with him.’ The διάνοια is that of an εὐγνώμων. As εὐγνώμων the orator will take the right view in politics, as δύνάτος εἰπεῖν he will cause his views to prevail. Others, among whom is Simcox, take διάνοιαν and παιδείαν and λόγον as accusatives of respect after καλόν. I think the genitive τοῦ ῥήτορος is decisive against this. παιδείαν and λόγον are an hendiadys for πεπαιδευμένον λόγον ‘style that has been formed by training.’ For προαίρεσις ‘deliberate choice,’ applied to policy, cp. Dem. *de Cor.* § 93, ἡ ἐμὴ προαίρεσις καὶ πολιτεία.

εἰ δὲ μή...λόγον ‘but in any case we must prefer soundness of view to mere eloquence.’

ἀνδρείον. For the sentiment we may refer to Dr Johnson’s dictum as to courage: “You know, Sir, that courage is reckoned the greatest of all virtues; because, unless a man has that virtue, he has no security for preserving any other” (Boswell, ch. ix.).

παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ ‘in the hour of danger.’ Dem. *de Cor.* 239, παρὰ τοὺς παρόντας καιροὺς.

τὸν δ’ ὀλιγαρχικόν. In democratic Athens the true δημοτικός represents the man of sound sense and moderation, the ὀλιγαρχικός is the innovator and the turbulent politician. The contrast is here drawn sharply between the two characters as radically different, contrary to the view put forward by the speaker in Lysias 25 § 8, who maintains that no man is democratical or oligarchical by nature, but only from the consideration as to which form of government best suits his interests.

σκέψασθε δὴ ‘well then, examine and see.’ δὴ often sums up a series of considerations, dismissing one part of the subject. Cp. Demosth. *Lept.* § 196, σκεψώμεθα δὴ τίνας...εἰσποιεῖ χορηγούς.

ἐπὶ πᾶσι δικαίοις ‘with entire fairness,’ lit. on conditions

all fair. Cp. Dem. *in Lept.* § 88, ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὅτι ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπὶ πᾶσι δίκαιοις ποιοῦμεθα τοὺς λόγους. *in Steph. B* (a law) § 18, ἣν ἂν ἐγγυήσῃ ἐπὶ δίκαιοις.

171 οὐ γὰρ δεῖ ψεύδεσθαι, an affectation of candour, 'for I must not be saying anything untrue,' 'I have no wish to make things worse than they are.'

ἐκ Κεραμέων, δῆμός ἐστι φυλῆς τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος Schol. The village is said to have taken its name from some pottery works.

Νύμφαιον τὸ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ. A Milesian colony in the Tauric Chersonese, which according to Craterus (quoted by Harporation) paid a talent to the Athenian revenue. πόλιν εὐλίμενον τὸ Νύμφαιον καλούμενον, Strabo 7, 4, 4, not far from Panticapaeum (*Kertsch*).

θανάτου...ὑπομένοντας. In his speech *in Aphob.* B §§ 2, 3, Demosthenes asserts that Gylon had incurred a fine, but had paid it. For the passive of καταγινώσκω referring to the penalty cp. Dem. *in Tim.* § 63, ἕως ἂν ἐκτίσῃ ὅτι ἂν καταγνωσθῇ αὐτοῦ. Antiph. 137, τοῦτου κατέγνωστο μὲν ἤδη θάνατος.

τὴν κρίσιν. Schol. οἶον τὴν τιμωρίαν, ἐξῆν γὰρ φυγεῖν μετὰ τὴν πρῶτην κρίσιν. If Gylon had been fined he would have had to give security for the amount, which would be due before the ninth Prytany. It is in this interval that he might have escaped. But if Aeschines is right in saying that he was condemned to death, it must have been after his flight.

παρὰ τῶν τυράννων, probably from Satyrus, whose capital was Panticapaeum (near *Kertsch*). The first Satyrus began to reign about B.C. 407, and he and his successors maintained friendly relations with Athens. See Lysias 16 § 24. Isocr. xvii. Clinton, *Fast. Hellen.* Vol. II. pp. 339—344. Κήπους a Milesian colony on the Asiatic coast of the Cimmerian Bosphorus.

172 ἐπιφερομένην, the wife was said ἐπιφέρεισθαι, the father ἐπιδοῦναι in regard to the dowry.

Σκύθιν, cp. 2 § 82, ἐκ τῶν νομάδων Σκυθῶν τὸ πρὸς μητρὸς γένος ὦν. Plutarch (*Dem.* 5) seems to have felt some doubt of the whole story,—οὐκ ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν εἴτ' ἀληθῶς εἴρηκεν εἴτε βλασφημῶν καὶ καταψευδόμενος. Demosthenes however never contradicts this statement, as he surely would have done if it had been false. On the other hand Mr Simcox points out that whereas Aphobus, the guardian of the young Demosthenes, ought, in accordance with the will of the elder Demosthenes, to have married Cleobule, the widowed mother of the orator, he did not do so; and yet never pleaded as an excuse that she was not a true-born Athenian, as he would have done if such

had been the case. The truth may have been that Gylon's wife was the daughter of an Athenian settler. The corn trade with the Bosphorus brought many Athenians thither.

συνώκισε 'gave in marriage to.' It was the father's business to arrange the marriages of his sons and daughters, neither apparently being much consulted.

ὁπωδήποτε. Demochares ὁ Λευκονοεὺς (*in Aph.* 1 § 14; 2 § 3), who must not be confounded with Demochares a nephew of the orator, who was himself a rhetorician and historian, and whose character is defended by Polybius 12, 13—14.

ἵνα μὴ...ἀπεχθάνωμαι, explaining the indefinite ὁπωδήποτε 'I say So-and-so to avoid incurring many people's enmity,' i.e. by naming more than is necessary. Cp. 1 § 164, τὸ δ' ὄνομα οὐ λέξω· τὰς γὰρ ἀπεχθείας φεύγω.

παριδὼν τοὺς νόμους 'in disregard of the laws.' According to a law quoted in [Dem.] c. *Neaeram* § 16 a foreigner marrying an Athenian woman was liable to be sold into slavery, while an Athenian citizen marrying a foreign woman was liable to a fine of 1000 drachmae, and his wife to be sold into slavery. Such a law must have been frequently evaded; but it added point to the taunts of the orators and comic poets.

ὑμῖν, a bitterly sarcastic use of the ethic dative, 'for your benefit!'

τοῦ πρὸς μητρός. These words are omitted in four mss. They seem unnecessary after what has just been said.

τὰ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς μητρός 'and on his mother's side.' See on § 64.

βάρβαρος...τῇ φωνῇ 'a true-born barbarian with nothing Greek about him except his language.' Cp. Dem. *in Steph.* A 30, ὑμεῖς δ' ἴσως αὐτὸν ὑπειλήφατε, ὅτι σολοικίζει τῇ φωνῇ, βάρβαρον καὶ εὐκαταφρόνητον εἶναι. ἔστι δὲ βάρβαρος οὗτος τῷ μισεῖν οὗς αὐτῷ προσήκε τιμᾶν. In its original sense βάρβαρος ἐλληνίζων would have been almost a contradiction in terms, as βάρβαρος probably meant 'one that did not speak Greek;' but it had come to mean non-Greek in birth, and Herodotus (9, 11) remarks it as a peculiarity among the Spartans that they used the word ξένοι as equivalent to βάρβαροι. Its earliest use is in Homer *Il.* 2, 867, Κᾶρες βαρβαρόφωνοι, but it does not occur elsewhere in the Homeric poems.

καὶ τὴν πονηρίαν οὐκ ἐπιχώριός ἐστι 'he is barbarous and unlike a Greek even in his style of rascality.' ἐπιχώριος 'in accordance with the fashions of a country.' See Aristoph. *Nub.*



1172, νῦν μὲν γ' ἰδεῖν εἰ πρῶτον ἐξαρνητικὸς κἀντιλογικὸς, καὶ τοῦτο τοῦπιχώριον. *Plut.* 342, οὐκ οὖν ἐπιχώριόν γε πρᾶγμ' ἐργάζεται.

173 ἐκ τριηράρχου 'from being a trierarch.' Demosthenes (*de Cor.* 257) says that he served a trierarchy directly he came of age. For the use of ἐκ cp. *Dem. de Cor.* § 131, ἐλεύθερος ἐκ δούλου καὶ πλούσιος ἐκ πτώχου.

Λογογράφος 'a speech-writer,' one who composed speeches for others to deliver, especially in the law courts. There seems always to have attached to this profession a certain amount of discredit; which gives point to the use of the word as applied to Demosthenes. The earliest to practise the art was Antiphon (*Thucyd.* 8, 68). See Dr Thompson, Introduction to Plato *Phaedrus*, p. xxvii. The prejudice against the profession and name may perhaps be compared to that which used to attach to the word *Attorney*. "I do not care," said Dr Johnson, "to speak ill of any man behind his back, but I believe the gentleman is an attorney."

ἀνεφάνη 'he suddenly came forward as,' *repente prodit*. Cp. § 81. *Lysias* 14 § 11.

τὰ πατρῶα καταγέλᾶστως προέμενος 'having allowed your patrimony to slip through your hands in a ridiculous fashion.' Cf. *Dem.* 2 *Olynth.* § 2, πόλεων καὶ τόπων ὧν ἦμὲν ποτε κύριοι φαίνεσθαι προϊεμένους. He refers to the well-known suit against the orator's guardians, Aphobus and Demophon. How much of his property he ever recovered is not known. "It can," says Mr Butcher (*Demosthenes* p. 29), "have been but a remnant of his patrimony, enough to secure him a competence and no more." The action was begun when Demosthenes was twenty, B.C. 363. Bremi says of καταγέλᾶστως i.q. ἀσελγῶς *per voluptates libidinosas*. But is it not rather an unfeeling jeer at his ill success in trying to get back his property from the hands of his guardians? προεμένους supports this, meaning rather the 'letting a thing get into the hands of an opponent' than 'squandering.'

καὶ περὶ ταῦτα 'even in this poor profession.'

λόγους ἐκφέρων τοῖς ἀντιδίκοις 'betraying the arguments to be used to the opposite parties in the suit.' The clause may be taken as depending on ὁδὸς εἶναι or as in apposition to it. It would be unusual to find a participle in the former construction, and the latter makes good sense, 'But being universally believed to be untrustworthy even in this business (of λογογράφος), and betraying the arguments to be used for his client.' The ground for the charge given in II. § 176 is the conduct of Demosthenes in the case of Phormio, for whom Demosthenes wrote a speech

in defence against the action of his late master's son, Apollodorus; and subsequently wrote a speech for the same Apollodorus against Stephanus for perjury committed in the same case in favour of Phormio. Plutarch (*Dem.* c. 15) saw no harm in it, saying that 'it was like selling two swords from the same workshop to be used on opposite sides.' A modern barrister might perhaps accept a brief on opposite sides; but the use of knowledge obtained from one side in favour of the other would I suppose be a breach of professional honour; and Aeschines, putting the worst interpretation on the business, would insinuate that Demosthenes did that. The Attic logographos however was in a different position to the modern barrister. He did not appear in court, he was not an adviser. He merely wrote a speech on facts supplied him, and had no overt personal responsibility. Yet the authorship of the speech was generally known, and many points of delicacy must have arisen in connexion with such double advocacy. See Mahaffy's *Greek Literature*, Vol. II. p. 336. Blass, p. 412.

ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα 'he suddenly made his appearance on the public platform.' That is, he took to make speeches on public matters before the ecclesia in his own person. The same idea of abruptness is given by the word ἀνεπήδησε as by ἀνεφάνη. The order of events is against the malicious insinuation of Aeschines, that Demosthenes began his public speaking in the ecclesia after losing credit as a logographos in the case of Phormio (B.C. 350). The speech against Stephanus was in B.C. 349—8; and in B.C. 354 he had delivered the speech against *Leptines*, which though not spoken in the deliberative ecclesia was a political speech; and in the same year first appeared on the Bema with his speech on the *Symmories*. The speech on the *Megalopolitans* (353 B.C.) and the 1st *Philippic* and for the *Rhodians* (351 B.C.) also preceded this case.

τὸ βῆμα, see note on § 34.

ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, sc. from his political career. Thus Nicias' henchman Hiero says of him (Plut. *Nic.* 5) φίλους προσαποβέβληκε τοῖς χρήμασι πολιτευόμενος, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι καὶ φίλους κτῶμενοι καὶ πλουτίζοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος εὐπαθοῦσι. Weidner reads πολιτείας with two of Bekker's mss. For the various sources of profit to an active politician at Athens see note on τὸ βασιλικόν below: and cp. *Dem. de Cor.* §§ 103, 209. Dein. in *Dem.* 42.

ἐλάχιστα περιεποιήσατο 'he really secured a very small balance for himself.' Aeschines means to charge Demosthenes with a crime within a crime,—rapacity in regard to taking public money, and foolish extravagance in squandering it.

τὸ βασιλικόν...ἐπικέκλυκε 'the money he has received from

the king of Persia has flooded his extravagance,' 'has washed away all traces of it.' See Hypereid. in *Dem.* col. xxi. and Δημοσθένη καὶ Δημάδην ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ψηφισμάτων καὶ προξενίων οἶμαι πλείω ἢ ἐξήκοντα τάλαντα ἐκάτερον εἰληφέναι, ἔξω τῶν βασιλικῶν καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου. The king of Persia, Dareius Codomanus, was naturally desirous to maintain an organized opposition to Philip and Alexander in Greece, as likely to prevent the threatened invasion of his own dominions. See § 240. Deinarch. in *Dem.* 18, and 70. Diodor. xvii. 4.

οὐδεὶς...περιεγένετο 'no wealth ever yet survived debauchery.' Cic. 2 *Phil.* § 65, *ut est apud poetam nescio quem 'male parva male dilabuntur.'*

πονηροῦ, Schol. ἀσώτου, *pequam*. τὸ κεφάλαιον οἶονεὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἀδίκημα, Schol. 'to cap all.'

τὸν βίον 'his livelihood.'

174 εὐγνωμοσύνην, see εὐγνώμων § 170.

δεινὸς...κακὸς. Some mss. have δεινὸς...κακὸς. For construction of adj. and infinitive see Madv. § 149.

ὥστ' ἐμὲ μὴ βούλεσθαι...πέπρακται. Cp. § 162. It was a common rhetorical artifice to pretend that the opponent's actions had been too bad for the speaker to mention. It is a particularly flagrant use of it on this occasion after the foul insinuations of the preceding sentences. But Demosthenes does the same, see *de Cor.* §§ 129, 264; and Cicero imitates them both, see 2 *Phil.* § 47, *sunt quaedam, quae honeste non possum dicere; tu autem eo liberior, quod ea in te admisisti quae a verecundo inimico audire non posses*. That such insinuations should be freely bandied between two men of the position of Aeschines and Demosthenes in open court indicates indeed a depraved taste and tone in society, and probably great corruption also; but we should, I think, be thoroughly sceptical as to their connoting any real belief in the vicious practices of either orator. See some weighty remarks on this subject by H. A. J. Munro, *Catullus*, p. 75 sq.

ἤδη γὰρ...σαφῶς λέγοντας. The Greek sentiment was in favour of casting a decent veil over all that was unpleasant. So the nurse says to Phaedra (Eurip. *Hipp.* 465) ἐν σοφοῖσι γὰρ τὰδ' ἔστι θνητῶν, λανθάνειν τὰ μὴ καλὰ. ἤδη ποτὲ εἶδον 'I have frequently observed,' 'this is not the first time I have noticed,' 'for I have frequently noticed.' Eurip. *Hipp.* 375 ἤδη ποτ' ἄλλως νυκτὸς ἐν μακρῷ χρόνῳ ἐφρόντισα κ.τ.λ. The special reference may be to the reception of his speech against Timarchus.

ἔπειτα τί συμβαίνει τῇ πόλει; 'and farther, what is the net



result to the state?', i.e. of a skilful orator who is an immoral man. The answer is, 'fair words but foul deeds.'

175 βραχὺς...λείπεται 'I need not waste many words by way of proving his cowardice.' See on § 152. Cp. Deinarch. *in Dem.* § 12, "ἐγὼ παρέταξα πάντας εἰς Χαιρώνειαν." οὐκ, ἀλλ' ἔλιπες μόνος αὐτὸς τὴν ἐκεῖ τάξιν. Grote xi. p. 306 maintains that the confidence reposed in Demosthenes immediately after the battle is decisive proof that they did not believe at the time that he had displayed cowardice. Assuredly the taunts of an opponent eight years afterwards cannot be accepted with any confidence. Demosthenes certainly shared in the defeat with his countrymen: but there is no good reason to believe that he behaved worse than the rest. In the *F. L.* § 206 Demosthenes says that his enemies called him δειλὸς, but he called himself εὐλαβής.

ἡρνεῖτο μὴ...εἶναι. G. § 283, 6.

διατριβὴν 'a cause for dwelling upon it,' 'some expenditure of time.'

αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖ. Aeschines represents Demosthenes (2 § 106) as saying ἐγὼ δὲ ὁμολογῶ μαλακὸς εἶναι.

ὑπομνήσαι 'to recal to your minds,' 'to mention,' the second accusative omitted. Cp. Dem. *in Steph.* i. § 85, ὑπομιμνήσκω ταῦτα οὐ νομίζων χάριν ὑμᾶς ὀφείλειν ἡμῖν, with id. *in Tim.* § 15, ἀνάγκη πρῶτον τοὺς χρόνους ὑπομνήσαι ὑμᾶς.

Σόλων, see on § 2.

ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς...ἐνέχεσθαι 'to be liable to the same penalties.' Cp. Dem. *in Macart.* § 57 (a law), καὶ οἱ πρότερον κτείναντες ἐν τῷδε τῷ θεσμῷ ἐνέχεσθων. Sometimes without ἐν, Andoc. *Myst.* § 44, οὓς ἔδει τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐνέχεσθαι ἐν οἷσπερ οὓς ἐγγυήσαντο. Lys. 1 § 18, κακοῖς τοιοῦτοις συνεχομένη. So 1 § 13, ἐνοχος ἔσται τοῖς μεγίστοις ἐπιτιμίοις.

τὸν ἀστράτευτον...δειλόν. These offences were all included under a γραφὴ λιποταξίου, and were thus distinguished: (1) not appearing in the army when put in the list (ἀστρατεία); (2) not appearing in the particular part of the army (cavalry or infantry) to which he was assigned (λιποταξία); (3) falling to the rear on the advance of the enemy (δειλία or λιποταξία δειλίας ἐνεκα); (4) throwing away the shield (τὸ ρίψαι τὴν ἀσπίδα). The trial took place before a panel of στρατιῶται presided over by the strategi, and the penalty was ἀτιμία without confiscation of property (Andoc. 1, § 74). See Lysias xiv. §§ 5, 11. Andoc. *de Myst.* § 74 reckons among the ἀτιμοὶ such persons—ὅποσοι λίποιν τὴν τάξιν ἢ ἀστρατείας ἢ δειλίας ἢ ἀναυμαχίον ὀφλοῖεν ἢ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀποβάλοιεν. Cp. 1, § 29. Pollux 8, 49. Schömann, *Attische Process* p. 462 (ed. 1887).

εἰς καὶ δειλίας γραφαὶ 'for cowardice also is indictable.' See previous note. The specific offences were named as above, though they were also spoken of generally as δειλία, and the whole process often as γραφὴ λιποταξίου. Bake omitted the words, and is followed by Weidner.

φύσεως 'a natural quality,' 'a weakness of nature,' such that a man had no control over it. φύσει μάχεσθαι οὐκ εὐπορόν ἐστι (Dem. *Pantaen.* § 56). 'Yes,' says Aeschines, 'the law provides against this by giving the man something that he may fear more than the enemy.' Cp. what Polybius says of the Roman soldiers (6, 37), 'it sometimes happens that men confront certain death at their stations, because, from their fear of the punishment awaiting them at home, they refuse to quit their post.'

ὑπάρχη 'be always ready,' so that the country can reckon on them.

176 ἔξω τῶν περιρραντηρίων τῆς ἀγορᾶς 'outside the part of the agora purified by the blood or holy lustral water,' and consequently outside those who shared in the religious rites at the beginning of an assembly, and were able therefore to take part in it § 224. περιρραντήρια are properly the 'vessels for sprinkling.' They are mentioned as among the necessary implements for sacrifices. Pollux 1, 32; Lucian *de Sacrif.* § 12. They appear to have been so placed in the ἀγορά (anciently the place of assembly, and here used to indicate it, though the assemblies were now in the Pnyx) as to mark out the space consecrated. In 1 § 21 the law disfranchising persons guilty of certain immoralities orders among other things μηδ' ἐντὸς τῆς ἀγορᾶς τῶν περιρραντηρίων πορεύεσθαι. Cp. Lucian l.c. § 13, καὶ τὸ πρόγραμμα φησι μὴ παρίναί ἐς τὸ εἶσω τῶν περιρραντηρίων ὅστις μὴ καθαρὸς ἐστι τὰς χεῖρας. Arist. *Ach.* 44, πάριτ' ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν πάριθ' ὥς ἂν ἐντὸς ᾗτε τοῦ καθάρματος. Cp. also Aesch. 1 § 23, ἐπειδὴν τὸ καθάρσιον περιενεχθῇ καὶ ὁ κῆρυξ τὰς πατρίους εὐχὰς εὔξεται. The note of the Schol. is περιρραντήρια ἐστὶν οἷον τὰ ὕδατα πρὸ τῶν ἱερῶν, ἐν οἷς περιρραίνονται οἱ μέλλοντες εἰσιέναι τοῖς ἱεροῖς πρὸ τοῦ εὔξασθαι τὰ δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας περιρραντήρια ᾗν τὰ καθάρσια τὰ ἐκ τοῦ περιστιάρχου γενόμενα. The περίστια means a pig offered on these occasions; after which ceremonies business began. Dem. in *Timocr.* § 21, πρῶτον μετὰ τὰ ἱερά. Schol. on Arist. *Ach.* 44; *Dict. of Antiq.* s.v. ἐκκλησία. [Bremi says of περιρραντήρια sunt cancelli (barriers) intra quos nemini ἀτίμω intrare licebat; but there does not seem any authority for this meaning of the word, although no doubt ἔξω τ. π. came to mean 'outside the consecrated space' however marked off.]

εἰσιέναι εἰς τὰ ἱερά τὰ δημοτελῆ 'to join in the national sacrifices,' or, 'to enter the national temples.' Cp. 1 § 21 μηδ'

εἰς τὰ δημοτελῆ ἱερὰ εἰσίτω. Harpocration distinguishes between ἱερὰ δημοτελῆ...δημοτικά...ὀργεωνικά...and γενικά. The first are those offerings given by the whole state, the second by the members of a deme, the third by the ὀργεῶνες or official priests of the demes attached to particular worships, and the last by γένη or clans.

τὸν ἀστεφάνωτον ἐκ τῶν νόμων ‘one who in accordance with the laws is incapable of receiving a crown.’

εἰσκαλεῖς ‘you are for summoning.’ Aeschines speaks of the probouleuma of Ctesiphon as if it were the voice of the κῆρυξ actually calling Demosthenes into the theatre.

τοῖς τραγωδοῖς ‘at the time of the acting of the tragedies.’ See Demosth. *de Cor.* § 54. Aeschin. 1 § 158.

τὸν τὰ ἱερὰ...προδεδωκότα. He probably means only generally that the cowardice of Demosthenes had left the temples at the mercy of the enemy. See on § 156. It would be too far-fetched an allusion to refer this to the abandonment of the prosecution of Midias for impiety.

τῆς ὑποθέσεως ‘the main subject of my speech,’ viz. the illegality of Ctesiphon’s proposal.

§§ 177—187 Leaving the question of the character of Demosthenes, Aeschines tries to shew that it is unadvisable to make the distinction of a gold crown too common, or a matter of personal favour (177—180): it was not the way in old times,—Themistocles, Miltiades, Aristides had no crown, and Demosthenes is not worthy to be named in the same day as those men (181—2): the victors on the Strymon were only allowed to set up Hermae without their names inscribed (183—185): the picture in the στοὰ ποικίλῃ of the battle of Marathon does not contain the name of Miltiades, though it has his portrait (186): while the heroes of Phyle had but a small grant of money and a crown of leaves (187).

177 ἔως ἔτι μέμνημαι ‘before I forget it.’ Though Aeschines probably spoke more or less *ex tempore*, or at least with less preparation than Demosthenes, this speech must have been in hand for a long time, and the pretence of speaking ‘before he forget’ can only be sincere as far as the order goes. Cp. §§ 57, 176.

καταλύσετε ‘put a stop to.’ εἰκῇ διδομένους ‘given promiscuously,’ ‘at random.’

ἐπανορθωθήσεται ‘restored to their former state of prosperity.’

οὐ μὴ...ποιήσετε ‘you will certainly not make.’ The emphatic negative οὐ μὴ (as opposed to its use in prohibitions)



more commonly has the subjunctive, in the second person especially; see however Soph. *O. C.* 848, οὐκ οὖν μὴ ὁδοιπορήσεις. Goodwin, *M. and T.* § 89. Madv. § 124 a R. 3. Hadley § 1032.

ἐμβαλεῖτε, Sch. διότι ὁρῶσιν ἑαυτοὺς ἐξ ἔσου τοῖς πολλοῖς τιμωμένους.

178 ἐπὶ τῶν νυνὶ καιρῶν ‘in the present generation.’ ἐπὶ in this sense nearly always has the genitive of person, ἐπὶ Κύρου, ἐπ’ ἐμοῦ and the like, and οἱ νῦν καιροὶ must stand for ‘the men of the present day.’ In the contrast which follows between the present and past state of Athens it was easy enough to shew that Athens had been more powerful 100 years before; and the usual glamour of distance might make the contrast between Demosthenes and the old heroes effective: nor does it seem to have occurred to Demosthenes in his answer (*de Cor.* § 314—317) to have pointed out that two of the three heroes here mentioned died in disgrace with their country. He only pleads that the envy which ever attends the great living makes it unfair to contrast them with the great dead, and claims to be compared with men of his own day.

νυνὶ δὲ πολλῷ καταδέεσται ‘but nowadays falling far more short of perfection.’ The belief in the degeneracy of mankind, never very sincere perhaps, pervades all literature from Homer downwards; and seems founded partly on ignorance, partly on an uneasy feeling that we are not such fine fellows as we wish to be thought, ‘to vex the boast so often made, that we are wiser than our sires.’ (See, for instance, Homer *Il.* 5, 304; 12, 383; 20, 287; Ecclesiastes vii. 10; Vergil *Aen.* 12, 899; Juvenal 16, 65.) Aeschines makes skilful use of this feeling.

τὰ καλὰ if it stands must mean ‘the marks of honour,’ but it is a very unusual meaning. Cp. § 260, παιδεία ἢ διαγνώσκειται τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρὰ: 1 § 160, φιλοτιμία εἰς τὰ καλὰ. Markland accordingly conjectured τὰ ἄθλα and Weidner τὰ τοιαῦτα. But just as ἀρετή sometimes stands for the *result* of excellence, i.e. fame, reward (Thucyd. 1, 33, 2; Pind. *Olymp.* 7, 164; *Isth.* 1, 58; Theocr. 17, 137), so it is difficult to say that τὰ καλὰ ‘virtuous things’ or ‘virtue’ may not stand for the results or rewards of virtue.

καταπέπλυται ‘has been brought into utter contempt.’ Schol. λοιδορεῖν, ὑβρίζειν, καταφρονεῖν. The simple πλύνειν is used in the sense of ‘abusing,’ ‘violently attacking,’ Demosth. in *Boeot.* § 11, ἀλλήλους δὲ πλυνοῦμεν καὶ ὁ τῷ λόγῳ κρατήσας ἄρξει. (Demosth.) *adv. Theocr.* § 40, ἐοράκατε...λοιδορουμένους καὶ πλύνοντας αὐτοὺς τὰ πόρρητα. Arist. *Acharn.* 381, κάκυκλοβόρει κάπλυνεν. Pollux 7, 38. The metaphor is said to be from the beating of clothes at the wash; here it would seem equally to

the point to take it from washing out a colour. Note the intensive force of *κατά* in composition.

ἐξ ἑθους 'as a matter of course,' 'habitual,' opp. to ἐκ προνοίας 'deliberately.' See Wayte's Introduction to Demosth. *Androt.* p. xxvi, "The 'crown' must have been of altogether insignificant value, apart from the fact that there were 500 claimants: but, like a modern 'vote of thanks,' it was taken as a matter of course, and the omission of it would be a marked slight." See Dem. *F. L.* § 35. The phrase ἐκ προνοίας generally occurs with φονεῖν or the like in a bad sense 'of malice aforethought.'

179 διδάσκειν 'to explain it to you,' or 'to convince you of it.' The following clauses are rather an explanation of an acknowledged fact than a proof.

ἐπασκεῖν εἰς τὰ Ὀλύμπια 'to train for the Olympic games.' This verb is generally followed by the accusative, see § 255. L. and Sc. quote Achaeus *apud Athen.* 418 A, πόλλ' ἐσθίουσιν ὥς ἐπασκοῦντων τρόπος. Athletes were refused admission to the contests unless trained, see Polyb. 6, 47.

τῶν στεφανιτῶν distinguished from those games where other prizes, such as a χλαμύς, were given. Cp. Her. 5, 102 ἀγῶν στεφανηφόρος. The four Great Games are στεφανιταί,

τέσσαρες εἰσιν ἀγῶνες ἂν' Ἑλλάδα, τέσσαρες ἱροί,

οἱ δύο μὲν θνητῶν, οἱ δύο δ' ἀθανάτων.

Ζηνὸς, Λητοῖδαο, Παλαίμονος, Ἀρχεμόροιο

ἄθλα δὲ τῶν, κότινος, μῆλα, σέλινα, πίτυς.

The other μέγιστα δωρεαί, said by Demosthenes (*Lept.* § 141) to be given to the victors, are those given by their own gratified states, not by the managers of the games.

παγκράτιον consisted of both wrestling (πάλη) and boxing (πυγμή): both these were reckoned βαρύς (βαρυτέρων τι) as also the δίσκος in the Pentathlon.

τῷ διαπραξαμένῳ 'to the man who successfully intrigued for it.' Cp. § 42, διεπράττοντο ἀναγορεύεσθαι.

οὐδεὶς ἂν. Cobet would omit the clause.

180 νῦν δὲ 'but as it is,' as the games are actually administered.

παρακαταθέμενοι, Schol. οἷον εἰ ἐμπιστεύοντες τοῖς πόντοις 'surrendering their bodies to toil.' Simcox explains on the other hand 'trusting their bodies to the judges.' The latter appears to me to give the better explanation. Feeling confident of the fairness of the award they are willing to run the risk, entrusting

their bodies so to speak to the judges, and submitting to the most painful labours, on the faith that they will receive fair treatment. For the word cp. Herod. 3, 59 *τὴν νῆσον Τροϊζηνίοις παρακατέθεντο* 'they entrusted the island to the charge of the Troezenians.' Cobet would however read *παραθέμενοι*, quoting Homer *Od.* 2, 237, *σφὰς παραθέμενοι κεφαλὰς.* 3, 75, *ψυχὰς παρθέμενοι* 'risking.'

**ἀγωναθέτας.** The *agonothetae* (properly 'founders of games') were a committee of judges appointed by the people who had the charge of the various games, as the Eleans at the Olympic games, the Corinthians at the Isthmian, the Amphictyons at the Pythian, and the Argives Corinthians and Cleonaeans at the Nemean. The privilege of thus presiding at the games was very highly valued (of its value to the Eleans see Polyb. 4, 73), as was the incorruptibility of the members of the court. Nearly every other body of Greek officials were at times guilty of corruption; but no instance is recorded of such conduct on the part of the Agonothetae in the great games: though the writer of the *Accusation of Alcibiades* (Andocides) § 26 seems to hint that influence was sometimes brought to bear upon them in the matter of admitting certain persons to compete. At Olympia there were two selected by lot from the 50th Olympiad (B.C. 580); and this arrangement remained until the 75th Olympiad (B.C. 480), when the number was raised to nine (*Ἑλλανοδίκαι*), increased in the 77th Olympiad (B.C. 472) to ten (one *ἀθλοθέτης*); and in the 103rd Olympiad (B.C. 368) raised to twelve, one for each of the twelve Elean tribes, but reduced again at the next Olympiad (B.C. 364) to eight, and finally at the 108th Olympiad (B.C. 348) raised again to 10 (Pausan. 5, 9, 4—6).

**χαρίζεσθε** 'ye grant it as a favour.' There is a zeugma, as *χαρίζεσθε*, while properly applicable to *τῷ βουλομένῳ*, is not so strictly to *διαπραξαμένοις* 'those who have obtained them by intrigue': but the general idea of weak compliance conveyed by *χαρίζεσθαι* may be held to apply to both classes.

181 **διδάξαι**, see above § 179. **σαφέστερον** 'more distinctly,' i.e. by quoting instances.

**Θεμιστοκλῆς...Σαλαμῖνι**, B.C. 480. Herod. 8, 22—3, 57—79. For the retort of Demosthenes see *de Cor.* § 208.

**ὁ στρατηγῆσας** 'who was a strategus,' i.e. one of the ten strategi, who commanded at sea as well as on land, the Athenians having no separate officer like the Spartan *ναύαρχος*. Themistocles was neither commander-in-chief of the whole Greek fleet, nor sole commander of the Athenian contingent; but his activity and personal weight made him practically so for a time.



ὅτε τῇ...ἐνικᾶτε. Weidner brackets the whole clause as corrupt. If τῇ Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχία is to stand it must mean 'at the time of the sea-fight at Salamis'—a locative and a temporal dative (§ 176). Some mss. have ἐν τῇ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ναυμαχία, some παρὰ for περὶ, some Σαλαμῖνι for Σαλαμῖνα. Franke reads ὅτ' ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχία. Cobet would cut out all from πότερον to λιπών, except the simple πότερον ὑμῖν ἀμείνων ἀνὴρ εἶναι δοκεῖ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἢ Δημοσθένης; This is certainly clearer and more forcible, but is it therefore necessarily what Aeschines wrote? Notice that μάχην νικήσας forms a transitive verb governing τοὺς βαρβάρους. See Madv. § 26.

ὁ τὴν τάξιν λιπών. See on § 152.

Μιλτιάδης...ἐν Μαραθῶνι, B.C. 490, Herod. vi. 110 sqq.

οἱ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς. Thrasybulus of Steiria and his followers who expelled the Thirty B.C. 404, Xen. *Hell.* 2, 4. Demosthenes *F. L.* § 280 calls him ὁ δημοτικός, and in Aristoph. *Plut.* 550 he is mentioned as the antithesis of a tyrant, Dionysius being the representative of the latter. The last year of his life brought him into disfavour with the people. In B.C. 390 he was sent on an expedition, in which he was held to have exceeded or disobeyed his instructions, and was recalled; but stopping on his way home to gather contributions from the cities in Asia Minor, he was killed in the course of his journey at Aspendus in Pamphylia. Xenoph. *Hell.* 4, 8, 25—31; Diodor. Sic. 14, 99; Lysias *Orat.* 28. Φυλή, a fortification of great strength commanding the pass over Mt Parnes on the road to Thebes, about twelve miles from Athens. 'It lies in the heart of the mountains where several ravines and passes leading to Attica and Boeotia unite' (Baed.). See Mahaffy's *Rambles*, p. 203—4.

'Αριστείδης ὁ δίκαιος, see Plutarch *Arist.* 6, ὅθεν ἀνὴρ πένης καὶ δημοτικός ἐκτέτατο τὴν βασιλικωτάτην καὶ θειοτάτην προσηγορίαν τὸν δίκαιον...: 7, τῷ δ' οὖν 'Αριστείδῃ συνέβη τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαπωμένῳ διὰ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ὕστερον φθονεῖσθαι... One who voted for his ostracism, on being asked whether he had any cause to dislike him...οὐδέν, ἔφη, οὐδὲ γινώσκω τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ' ἐνοχλοῦμαι πανταχοῦ τὸν δίκαιον ἀκούων.

182 ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις, cp. § 117, as we say, 'not to be named in the same week with them.'

τοῦ θηρίου τούτου 'of this monster.' Demosthenes uses this term freely of his opponents. Cp. in *Timocr.* 143, εἰ οὖν μὴ τιμωρήσεσθε τούτους, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοι τὸ πλῆθος τούτοις τοῖς θηρίοις δουλεῖν. So in *de Cor.* § 322 he speaks of his prosecutors being let loose upon him ὥσπερ θηρία. Cp. c. *Phorm.* A § 52, in *Lucr.* § 8. For the sentiment cp. Dein. in *Dem.* § 16, ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ

πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ κάθαρμα παραβάλλειν δεῖ τοὺς ἄξια καὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν προγόνων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πράξαντας.

ἐκείνων 'those famous men.'

εἴ που γέγραπται 'if there is any record,' either on monuments or in the public records (γράμματα).

κάκεῖνοί γε... πόλεως 'Yes, and they too were worthy to be members of the state.' [Some mss. have *κάκεῖνό* and *εἰ μὴ* for *οἱ μὴ*, and *ἀνάξιοι* for *ἄξιοι*. If *κάκεῖνό* is altered to *κάκεῖνω* and the other readings are accepted, the sentence must be taken as a question, 'and were they, as being left without outward mark of honour, on that account unworthy of the state?' Weidn. omits *οἱ μὴ* *τετιμημένοι*.]

183 ἐπὶ τῷ Στρυμόνι. The siege and capture of Eion on the Strymon was one of the most important episodes in the ten years' war (B.C. 476—466) conducted principally by Cimon, as commanding the forces of the confederacy of Delos, against the Persian power in Thrace and the Hellespont. In these parts Persian governors and garrisons were still maintained after the failure of the great invasion of B.C. 480—479, and one after another was attacked and taken. The town to hold out longest was Eion under its governor Boges. Thucyd. 1, 98; Herod. 7, 107; Plutarch *Cim.* 7. Grote *Hist.* Vol. v. p. 150. Aeschines here refers to the whole series of military actions, as he shews by using the imperfect *ἐνίκων*.

λιθίνους, the earlier Hermae had been of wood (ξύλινοι). Iambl. *vit. Pythag.* § 245. *Anthol. Planud.* 187,

Ἐρμείῃ ξυλίνῳ τις ἐπηύχετο, καὶ ξύλον ἦεν.  
εἶτα μιν αἰείρας χαμάδις βάλε· τοῦ δ' ἄπο χρύσος  
ἔρρευσεν καταγέντος. ὕβρις πόρε πολλάκι κέρδος.

ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ τῶν Ἑρμῶν. The covered street crossing through the middle of the agora between the στοὰ ποικίλη and the στοὰ βασιλείος. Cp. Lysias 23 § 2, τὸ κουρεῖον τὸ παρὰ τοὺς Ἑρμᾶς. Harpocrat. s.v. Ἑρμαῖ. The inscriptions were κάτω ἐν τῇ βάσει (Schol.). There were many other Hermae both in front of private houses and temples (Thucyd. 6, 27, 1, πολλοὶ καὶ ἐν ἰδίῳ προθύροις καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς), but this στοὰ had the greatest number, and was specially called by the name.

ἐφ' ᾧ τε μὴ ἐπιγράφειν τὰ ὀνόματα 'on condition of their not inscribing their names on them.' A famous example of the dislike to such vainglory was the case of Pausanias, who had his name inscribed on the stand of twisted serpents (still extant) for the golden tripod dedicated after the battle of Plataea: which inscription the Spartans caused to be erased. Thucyd. 1, 132 (see Herod. 9, 81; Pausan. 10, 13, 9).

184 ἦν = ἦσαν. Cp. Hesiod *Theog.* 3, 21, τῆς δ' ἦν τρεῖς κεφαλαί. It (or ἦς) is particularly characteristic of Doric, cp. Epicharmus *ap. Athenae.* vii. 278 A, φάσσαι τε τοσαῦται παρῶν (al. ἦς). id. 286 B, ἦν δὲ νάρκαι. id. 306 A, ἦς δ' ὑαινίδες τε βούγλωσσοι. The passage quoted in Herod. 5, 12 admits of another explanation. The earliest form of the tense was probably ἔα (*Il.* 4, 321; 5, 887), hence apparently this dialectical form ἔαν (ἦν) for ἔσαν. One ms. has a correction ἦσαν for ἦν ἄρα. It has however generally been explained as a rare grammatical license limited by the rule that the verb must precede the subject. See Eurip. *Ion* 1246; *Bacch.* 1350; *Hel.* 1358; Aesch. *Pers.* 49; Soph. *Trach.* 520; Lucian *Amores* 410; Goodw. § 135, notes; Madv. *G. Gr.* p. 2.

Λιμόν τ' αἰθωνα 'burning hunger.' Cp. the German *ein brennender Hunger* (Simecox). Cp. Callim. *Hymn* vi. 68, αὐτίκα οἱ χαλεπὸν τε καὶ ἄγριον ἔμβαλε λιμόν | αἰθωνα κρατερόν. Eion was starved out; Boges διεκαρτέρεε ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον, Herod. 7, 107.

εὗρον ἀμυχανίην 'first discovered how to reduce their enemies to despair.' Schol. ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀμυχανίην ἐνέβαλον τοῖς πολεμίοις. Herodotus uses ἀμυχανίη as equivalent to ἀδυναμίη 'weakness,' 'inability' (8, 111). Cp. Alcaeus fr. 92 (Bergk), Ἀργάλεον πενία, κακὸν ἀσχετον, ἃ μέγα δάμνης Λᾶον ἀμαχανία σὺν ἀδελφέα. 'To find the helplessness of an enemy,' is here used to mean 'to make him helpless.' The reference, if it is to be pressed at all, can only be to the series of operations during this period of the war of B.C. 476—466; they could not by any stretch be said to be the first Greeks who had beaten a Persian army, as Herodotus said of the victors of Marathon (6, 112).

[Weidner follows Richter in putting this epigram second, the third ἐκ ποτε κ.τ.λ. first, and the second ἡγεμόνεσσι κ.τ.λ. last. But the order of the text is that of Plutarch (*Cimon*, 7, Sintenis, ed. 1879); and there seems no authority for, and little advantage in, the change.]

καὶ ἐπεσσομένων seems a reminiscence of Hom. *Il.* 22, 305, ἀλλὰ μέγα ῥέξας τι καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι.

ἀμφὶ ξυνοῖσι πράγμασι 'in defence of the common interests of Hellas.' These were the palmy days of the confederacy of Delos, when most states in Greece were acting in league against Persia. ξυνός is used in tragedy (Soph. *Aj.* 182) and by Herodotus (4, 12; 7, 53), but not in Attic prose; it is the Ionic equivalent of κοινός.

ἀμφί. This use of ἀμφί is almost entirely poetical, and Ionic (Herod. 6, 62, 129). Its place was taken by περί, and it gradually disappeared from use. It only occurs twice in Thucyd. (7, 40, 1; 8, 65, 1), and never in the orators (except in such quotations) or in Polybius. Madv. § 72.



185 **Μενεσθεύς**. This hero is called *δῖος* in *Il.* 13, 195 (being one of two *ἄρχοι Ἀθηναίων*); *μεγάθυμος Il.* 12, 373; *πλήξιππος Il.* 4, 327; *υἱὸς Πετεῶο Il.* 2, 552,

τῷ δ' οὐπω τις ὁμοῖος ἐπιχθόνιος γένητ' ἀνὴρ  
κοσμήσαι ἵππους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἀσπιδιώτας.

The expression in the second of these two lines is what has suggested to the epigram writer the *κοσμητῆρα μάχης*.

**χαλκοχιτώνων**. This is the epithet of the *Ἀχαιοὶ* in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, not the *Δαναοί*, see *Il.* 1, 371; 2, 47, 163, 187, 437; 3, 127, 131 etc. *Odys.* 1, 286; 4, 496.

**οὕτως—ἡγορέης**. Weidner brackets these two lines. *κοσμητὰς*, *κοσμηταῖς* in Plutarch. Both constructions are admissible. The accusative arises from the influence of the infinitive. Cp. Herod. 6, 22, *ἐδόκεε δὲ...βουλευομένοισι...ἐς ἀποικίην ἐκπλῶειν μηδὲ μένοντας Μήδοισι δουλεύειν*.

**ἡγορέης** = *ἀνδρείας*, *Il.* 8, 226.

186 **εἰς τὴν στοὰν τὴν ποικίλην** on the opposite side of the *Hermæ* to the *στοὰ βασιλείος*. It was originally called *Πεισιανάκτειον* (Plutarch *Cimon* 4), and afterwards *στοὰ ποικίλη* on account of the frescoes painted by Polygnotus and other artists. There were four great frescoes: (1) the battle of Oenoe, between the Athenians and Lacedaemonians (Paus. 2, 1512); (2) the battle between the Athenians, under Theseus, and the Amazons; (3) a group of Greek chiefs after the capture of Troy assembled to discuss the violence of Ajax upon Cassandra; (4) the battle of Marathon. Pausan. 1, 15.

**τὰ ὑπομνήματα**, Dem. *de Cor.* § 68, *ὕμιν δ' οὖσιν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐν πᾶσι καὶ λόγοις καὶ θεωρήμασι τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς ὑπόμνημα θεωροῦσι....*

**ῥήτησεν**. We have no record of such a request on the part of Miltiades.

**γραφῆναι παρακαλοῦντι** 'to be painted in the act of cheering on.' The prominent figures in the fresco of Marathon were Theseus, rising out of the earth, Athenè, Hercules, Callimachus the polemarch, the hero Echetlus, and Miltiades. The picture was in three departments: (1) the charge, (2) the *mêlée*, (3) the struggle at the ships. It is the last which contained these figures. Paus. l. c.

187 **ἐν τῷ μητρώῳ**. The *Metroum*, the temple of Cybele the mother of the gods, was near the chamber of the council of five-hundred. It was the work of Pheidias, and was used as a record office; see Pausan. 1, 3, 4; Dem. *F. L.* § 129, *ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς τοῖς ὑμετέροις γράμμασιν ἐν τῷ μητρώῳ*: in *Aristog.* § 98, *πῶς δ' εἰς τὸ μητρῶον βαδιείσθε*; *Lycurg. ap. Harpocr. s.v. νόμους ἔθεντο*

ἀναγράψαντες ἐν τῷ Μητρώῳ. Schol. ἔγνωμεν καὶ ἐν τοῖς Φιλιπ-  
πικοῖς ὅτι μέρος τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἐποίησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ Μητρώον,  
ὃ ἐστὶν ἱερὸν τῆς Ῥέας διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐκείνου τοῦ Φρυγὸς (the story  
being that the temple was built in expiation of the execution  
of Metragyrtes for initiating Attic women in the mysteries of  
the *magna mater*). *Hypothesis* to Demosth. *de Cor.* κελεύει γὰρ  
μηδέποτε ψευδῇ γράμματα εἰς τὸ Μητρώον εἰσάγειν. Athenaeus  
5, 214 B (of Athenio the Peripatetic), τὰ τ' ἐκ τοῦ Μητρώου τῶν  
παλαιῶν αὐτόγραφα ψηφίσματα ὑφαιρούμενος ἐκτέσταιτο. There  
the documents regarding lawsuits were deposited. Athenae.  
9, 407 B, ὁ δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης...ἤκεν εἰς τὸ Μητρώον, ὅπου τῶν δικῶν  
ἦσαν αἱ γραφαί· καὶ βρέξας τὸν δάκτυλον ἐκ τοῦ στόματος διήλειψε  
τὴν δίκην τοῦ Ἠγήμονος. There the εὔθυναί or audits were held.  
(Plutarch) *vit. Lycurg.* (X. Orat.), μέλλων δὲ τελευτήσῃν εἰς τὸ  
μητρώον καὶ βουλευτήριον ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν κομισθῆναι βουλόμενος  
εὔθυνας δοῦναι τῶν πεπολιτευμένων. Opposite it were the statues  
of Harmodios and Aristogeiton restored by Alexander (Arrian  
*An.* 3, 16, 8).

φεύγοντα τὸν δῆμον. All the opponents of the Thirty  
tyrants were forbidden the ἄστυ, and either took refuge in the  
Peiraeus or in other towns such as Megara, Thebes or Chalcis;  
and more than half the citizens were said to have been thus in  
exile. Xen. *Hellen.* 2, 4, 1; Diodor. Sic. 14, 5; Lysias 24 § 25;  
Isocr. 18, 1, ἐκ Πειραιέως κατελθόντες.

Ἀρχίνος ὁ ἐκ Κοίλης. A leading statesman and orator in  
the period immediately succeeding the restoration of the demo-  
cracy (B.C. 404—3). Deinarch. 1 § 76; Aeschin. 2 § 176; Plato  
*Menex.* 234 B. It was he who proposed the law covering by an  
amnesty all offences committed during the year of anarchy,  
Isocr. 18, 2. He had been with Thrasybulus at Phyle, and  
was, says Demosthenes (*in Timocr.* § 135), μετὰ γε τοὺς θεοὺς  
αἰτιώτατος τῆς καθόδου τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ πεπολι-  
τευμένος καὶ ἐστρατηγηκὼς πολλάκις. He seems however, though  
the author of the amnesty, to have jealously guarded against  
advantage being taken of the troubles to introduce illegal  
measures. See § 195, and (Plutarch) *vit. Lysiae*, where he is  
said to have indicted the proposal of Thrasybulus to bestow  
citizenship on the orator Lysias. Κοίλη was a deme of the  
tribe Hippothoontis, just north of the town, in which was the  
tomb of Thucydides (Marcell. *vit. Thucyd.* § 16), the road  
through it was called ἡ Κοίλη ὁδὸς (Herod. 6, 103). The  
demesman was expressed by ἐκ Κοίλης, Isocr. 18, 22 (*C. I. G.*  
275, 1. 28, Διονύσιος Ἰσιδότου ἐκ Κοί.).

καταγαγόντων 'who restored,' a well-known use οἱ κατάγειν  
(Herod. 6, 25), the analogue to κατεῖναι (Arist. *Ranae* 1165).

εἰς θυσίαν...δραχμας 'proposed to give them 1000 drachmae

(about 40£) for a sacrifice and monument.' The restoration of peace was celebrated at Athens by a solemn procession and sacrifice to Athenè on the Acropolis. Plutarch *Glor. Atheniens.* vi.; Lysias xiii. § 80—1.

ἔλαττον ἢ δέκα δραχμαὶ κατ' ἄνδρα. The number of men therefore who were with Thrasybulus in Phyle must have exceeded 100. In Xenophon (*Hellen.* 2, 4, 2) the number originally accompanying Thrasybulus when he seized Phyle is said to have been about 70 (ὡς σὺν ἐβδομήκοντα). Other authorities mention even smaller numbers, see Diodorus xiv. 32; Pausan. 1, 29, 3; Demosth. c. *Timocr.* § 34. Grote viii. p. 56. This particular reward seems to have been confined to the original holders of Phyle, who withstood the first attack of the troops of the Thirty; for soon after the failure of the attack the numbers were 700 (*Xen. Hellen.* 2, 4, 5).

πρῶτον μὲν...ἔπειτα without δέ, as often, see Demosth. *de Cor.* 1, 1.

θαλλοῦ 'of olive leaves.' Cp. 2 § 46, τέλος δὲ πάντων ἔγραψεν ἡμᾶς στεφανῶσαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ ἕκαστον εὐνοίας ἔνεκα τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον καὶ καλέσαι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον.

τίμιος *in pretio*. See Photius *Lex.*, τίμιον· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔντιμον· οὕτως Ἀντιφῶν. ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης ἐχρήσατο ἐπὶ τοῦ πιπρασκομένου πολλῆς τιμῆς.

Λακεδαιμόνιοι. The Spartan garrison that had been placed in Athens, under the harmost Callibius, at the request of the Thirty (*Xen. Hellen.* 2, 3, 13—14). Some of them were employed against Phyle (*ib.* 2, 4, 4).

τάξιν ἔλιπον, § 148, 152.

188 ἀναγνώσεται, sc. ὁ γραμματεὺς.

παρανάγνωθι (to the clerk) 'read to compare with this.' Cp. παραγεγραμμένοι νόμοι, *Dem. de Cor.* § 111.

ἐκεῖνο 'the former,' i.e. the decree in favour of the defenders of Phyle.

στεφανοῦται, the present for the immediate future, 'is proposed to be crowned.' § 117. Cp. Demosth. *de Cor.* § 83 δευτέρου κηρύγματος ἤδη μοι τούτου γιγνομένου.

189 πυνθάνομαι γε 'I am actually told' (though I don't know). The γε gives emphasis to the fact that he is now speaking from information received, not from personal knowledge. Cp. § 225. See *Dem. de Cor.* § 314—9 for the answer, which does not follow the line here indicated. Simcox supposes that the paragraph was added after the trial, when Aeschines prepared the speech for publication.



**Φιλάμμωνα** This Athenian boxer (*ὅς πάντας ἐνίκα τοὺς ἀντιπάλους*, Suid.) is mentioned also by Aristotle (*Rhet.* 3, 11). **Γλαῦκος** This famous boxer was a native of Carystus, and was said to have followed the plough, until his power as a boxer induced him to try the games. He won twice at the Pythian, eight times at the Nemean games, as well as at Olympia, where there was a statue of him. Pausan. 6, 10, 1—3. Quoted with Milo as ideals of strength by Lucian *pro imag.* § 19.

*ὥσπερ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοοῦντας* ‘as though you were unaware,’ for construction see § 142 *ὡς Βοιωτοὺς ἔργῳ κακῶς πάσχοντας*.

*πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρετὴν*. The test, which those who claim to be crowned must stand, is a trial by the standard of absolute merit: the ideal merit which deserves a crown.

*ἧς καὶ ἔνεκα* ‘in virtue of which it is that they are crowned.’ *καὶ* emphasises the cause.

**Παταικίωνος**, Schol. *οὗτος ἦν κλέπτης*. Harpocr. *κλέπτης καὶ τοιχωρῆχος*. Suidas *ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας τὸν βίον ποιούμενος καὶ προσκρούειν ἐπιτηδεύων τοῖς εὐδοκιμοῦσι τῶν νέων*. Plutarch *de audiend. Poet.* 4 *Παταικίων ὁ κλέπτης*. His name seems to be used like those of Phrynonidas and Eurybatus as synonymous for rascality.

*ἐφικόμενος τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας*. Schol. *τουτέστι γενόμενος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, κρατήσας τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἐγκρατῆς ὢν ἀνδραγαθίας* ‘when you have attained to excellence, *then* (οὕτω) ask the people for favours.’ You must not presume to ask for reward till you have done something more than excel this or that person; you must attain a certain standard of positive excellence. For *οὕτω* ‘when you have done that,’ marking the condition under which action is taken, cp. Thucyd. 1, 37, 1, *μνησθέντας πρῶτον καὶ ἡμᾶς περὶ ἀμφοτέρων οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄλλον λόγον ἰέναι*. Herodotus in this connexion generally writes *οὕτω* δὴ, see 6, 36, 61 etc.

§§ 190—200 The epigram concerning the restorers of the democracy may be regarded in another point of view. They were honoured for putting down men who were acting unconstitutionally; and that is a fresh illustration of a fact which I have heard from other sources of the great strictness with which trials on *γραφαὶ παρανόμων* were then conducted, compared with the slackness of the present practice. In truth such a trial ought not to admit of advocacy of the usual sort. The facts are as plain as a diagram. The law and the proposed decree can be compared, and an absolute decision arrived at, which cannot be gainsaid. Do not therefore allow Ctesiphon to call Demosthenes.

190 ὑποθέσεως § 76, 176.

παλαιχθων 'immemorial dwellers in their land.' For the Athenians claimed to be αὐτόχθονες. Thucyd. 1, 2, 5, τὴν γοῦν Ἀττικὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον διὰ τὸ λεπτόγεων ἀστασίαστον οὖσαν ἄνθρωποι ᾤκουν οἱ αὐτοὶ αἰεὶ. Cp. 2, 36.

τοὺς ἀδίκους θεσμοῖς ἄρξαντας 'those who held office under unconstitutional laws.' The Thirty were a board appointed nominally to draw up a revised code of laws, and to conduct the government in the meanwhile, and were formally voted by the assembly; but under pressure from Lysander, and with the well-understood intention of putting down the democracy. Xen. *Hellen.* 2, 3, 2; Diodor. xiv. 3; Lysias xii. § 74—5, xxviii. § 13.

κίνδυνον...ἀράμενοι. So πόλεμον ἀειράμενοι Herod. 7, 132.

191 ἔναυλον γὰρ ἦν τότε πᾶσιν 'for it was at that time ringing in the ears of all.' Properly ἔναυλος means 'to the sound of the flute;' but it is nearly always used in a metaphorical sense. Plato *Menex.* 235 c οὕτως ἔναυλος ὁ λόγος τε καὶ ὁ φθογγὸς παρὰ τοῦ λέγοντος ἐνδύεται εἰς τὰ ὦτα 'with such a ringing lasting sound.'

τηνικαῦτα...ἐπειδὴ 'that in that period the democracy was really dissolved, since a party had abolished the γραφὴ παρανόμων,' i.e. 'It was the abolition of the γραφὴ παρανόμων that really constituted the destruction of the democracy,' τὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἰσχυρὰ § 234. τηνικαῦτα is not so much temporal as circumstantial: 'in the circumstances then existing.'

ἐπειδὴ τινες...ἀνέλων. Cp. Dem. c. *Tim.* § 154 ἀκούω δὴ καὶ τὸ πρότερον οὕτω καταλυθῆναι τὴν δημοκρατίαν, παρανόμων πρῶτον γραφῶν καταλυθεισῶν. No formal repeal of the law regulating the γραφὴ παρανόμων seems to have been carried by the promoters of the revolution in B.C. 404, as it had been in the revolution of the Four-hundred B.C. 411 (Thucyd. 8, 67, 2). But the appointment of the Thirty being for the purpose nominally of drawing up a fresh code, all laws were for the time suspended. Grote viii. p. 27; Thirlwall iv. p. 179. For τινες of invidious reference, 'certain (mischievous) persons,' cp. § 58.

καὶ γάρ τοι 'for, in point of fact,' directly the democracy was restored the γραφὴ παρανόμων became a reality.

οὗς πολλάκις Markland for δς πολλάκις. The construction with ὡς...ὅς...ὅς is much disjointed. The omission of δς πολλάκις...ἔφη γὰρ would make it simple; but the sentence, though rough, is forcible. Weidner restores consecutiveness by emending ὡς to υἱὸς (= παῖς) and the second ὅς to ὥστε making ὥστε πολλάκις...σχολῆς explain the mention of his father's 95 years.

ἔφη γάρ resumes the sentence which has lost its way in the parenthesis. 'He said then.' γάρ *narrativum*.

εἰ τις εἰσίοι γραφήν. *Verbum εἰσέναι, ut vocabulum forense, dicitur et de causa, et de reo, et de judicio.* Bremi. (Demosth.) c. Neaer. 122, μὴ εἰσέναι τὴν γραφήν ταύτην: c. Boeot. 1, δεινὰ παθὼν ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰσέναι εἰς δικαστήριον. Cobet would however read γραφή, quoting § 197 and Demosth. F. L. § 14, ἐσῆι ἡ γραφή εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον.

εἶναι ὅμοιον τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὸ ἔργον. Bremi takes this to mean 'an illegal suggestion was held as culpable as an illegal act.' And the Schol. οὐχ ἦττον ἐμίσουν τοῦ πράττοντος παράνομα ἐν ἔργοις αὐτὸν τὸν γράφοντα παράνομα. This seems to put a strain upon the meaning of ὄνομα. I think it is to be construed 'It was a reality, and no farce,' 'it was carried out with strictness.' Cp. the proverbial phrase ἅμα ἔπος τε καὶ ἔργον, Herod. 3, 135: Homer, *Hymn to Hermes*, 46, ὡς ἅμ' ἔπος τε καὶ ἔργον ἐμήδετο κύδιμος Ἑρμῆς. Polyb. 8, 36, 11, ἅμα τῷ λόγῳ τοῦργον εἰλήφει συντέλειαν. Lat. *dictum factum*, Terence *Hautont*. 760, 904.

τί γάρ ἐστιν 'and quite rightly so, for what is more abominable than a man making unconstitutional proposals and acting unconstitutionally?'

192 ἀνεπόδιζον 'they used to stop the clerk' in the course of his reading, and bid him go back and read over again. Herod. 5, 92 § 6.

τὸ ψήφισμα 'the proposed decree' which was the subject of the action.

παραπηδήσαιεν...παρὰλλάξαιεν 'not only if they utterly ignored (lit. leapt past) the laws, but if they neglected even a single syllable.' παραπηδᾶν is a strong word for παραβαίνειν, παρὰλλάττειν is putting it at the lowest, 'pass by as unimportant.' Cp. *ὑπερπηδήσας* § 12, 200. Of course Aeschines implies that Demosthenes was guilty of the former. πρᾶγμα 'proceeding.'

ὑπερκαταγέλαστον 'a supreme farce,' 'ridiculous beyond all measure.'

τὸ παράνομον 'the proposal alleged to contravene the laws.' ὥσπερ ἐπώδη 'as though it were a formula of incantation,'—a mere matter of form, to which no special attention was necessary,—like the reading of an Act of Parliament ordered at certain elections in England. The use of incantations in sicknesses and for wounds had no doubt come to be regarded with contempt in the time of Aeschines; but it had evidently been common. See Homer *Odyss.* 23, 457; Pindar *Pyth.* 3, 91; 4, 385; Aeschyl. *Eum.* 618; Soph. *Ajax* 582; Thucyd. 2,



47, 5; Plato *Symp.* 203 A; *Theaet.* 149 c; *Republ.* II. 365; v. 426; Demosth. in *Aristog.* § 80.

193 παραδέχεσθε 'you habitually admit,' the present is used of what frequently goes on. § 232.

μετενήνεκται...κατηγορεῖ. He means that by allowing side issues to be pleaded in court in a matter which, like a γραφή παρανόμων, admits of instant, simple, and conclusive decision by comparing the two documents, the jury allow the defendant to leave the point at issue and attack the character of the prosecutor, thus forcing him often to speak as though he were on his defence. In I. § 175 Aeschines asserts that Demosthenes had boasted that in pleading for Timarchus he had diverted the attention of the jury from him 'to the accuser, and to Philip and the Phocians,' καὶ φόβον ἐπήρτησα τοῖς ἀκρωμένοις ὥσθ' ὁ μὲν φεύγων κατηγορεῖ ὁ δὲ κατηγορῶν ἐκρίνετο, οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ ὧν μὲν ἦσαν δικασταὶ ἐπελάθοντο, ὧν δ' οὐκ ἦσαν κριταὶ περὶ τούτων ἤκουον.

ὧν μὲν εἰσι κριταί. One clause in the juror's oath was 'I will give my decision on the question at issue, and none other,' Demosth. 746. The temptation of a jurymen to be misled by side issues, such as a man's character, public services or other actions, was of course as common then as now: and the Athenian orators continually address themselves to this weakness; but to assert that Demosthenes invented the trick is absurd.

ἂν ἄρα 'if indeed he ever does touch on it'—which he frequently does not, § 162. For ἄψηται cp. §§ 101, 237.

ὡς...ἕτερος...ἀπέφυγεν. See Dem. *de Cor.* §§ 83, 114, 223—226. But Demosthenes in these passages does not adopt the plea that these men had not been convicted, but that they had not been prosecuted, or, if they were, that Aeschines had not prosecuted them or helped their prosecutor. If he had pleaded that they had been tried and acquitted it would have been a good precedent.

ἀκούω. See on § 189, πυνθάνομαι: *de Cor.* § 318: Lysias 19 § 5.

194 'Αριστοφῶν ἐκείνος ὁ 'Αζηνιεύς 'the famous Aristophon of Azenia' (a deme of the tribe Hippothoontis), § 139. He is described by Hyperides (3, xxviii. 25) as ἰσχυρότατος ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ. The Schol. on Aesch. I § 64 says κεκωμώδηται ὁ 'Αριστοφῶν ὡς ὑπὲρ Χάρητος μισθοῦ λέγων, καὶ ὡς παρανόμων γραφὰς ΟΕ' πεφυγώς, καὶ ὡς στρατηγήσας ἐν Κέφῳ καὶ διὰ φιλοχρηματίαν πολλὰ κακὰ ἐργασάμενος τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, ἐφ' ᾧ γραφεῖς ὑπὸ 'Υπερείδου παρανόμων ἐάλω. φησὶ δ' αὐτὸν 'Υπερείδης καὶ 'Αρόηττον ἐπικληθῆναι διὰ τὸ πολλάκις αὐτόθι ἐπιωρ-

ρηκέναι ('Αρδηττός was the place where the Heliastic oath was administered, near the Stadium Panathenaicum, Harpocr.). In Demosth. *Lept.* § 146 he is named one of three μάλισθ' οἱ δεινοὶ λέγειν ἄνδρες who are elected σύνδικοι to defend the law of Leptines (B.C. 355). This was late in his career: he had been long a leading orator, and is often referred to by Demosthenes among his most powerful predecessors. See *de Cor.* § 219, *F. L.* § 297. He is mentioned as having prosecuted Iphicrates for treason (Quintil. 5, 12, 10—11). See Pollux vii. 11. Schäfer vol. 1, p. 136, 174, 415. For his financial measures, see Schäfer vol. 1, 179, 260; vol. 2, p. 54. In Dindorf's index to Demosthenes he seems to be confused with Aristophon of Collytus.

ὁ Κέφαλος...ἐκείνος. Suidas Κέφαλος Ἀθηναῖος, ῥήτωρ καὶ δημαγωγός, ὃς πρῶτος προοίμιον καὶ ἐπιλόγους συντέθεικε· γέγονε δ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναρχίας [i.e. B.C. 404]. He was of the deme Collytus, and is mentioned by Deinarchus (1, 38—9) as having proposed a decree for sending out an expedition for the relief of Thebes (B.C. 379), and is said in B.C. 394 to have cooperated in the combination against Sparta instigated by Tithraustes in order to get rid of Agesilaus from Asia [Pausan. 3, 9, 8]. Suidas therefore cannot be right in saying that he was born in B.C. 404, if he does mean that. He was a leading orator at least as early as B.C. 392, see Arist. *Eccles.* 248. He is classed with Aristophon and Thrasybulus in Dem. *de Cor.* § 219.

οὐδεμίαν...παρὰ νόμων. Dem. *de Cor.* § 251. Demosthenes answers that it is still greater credit to have been often prosecuted on this charge and always acquitted; and that as far as Aeschines is concerned he can make Cephalus' boast, for Aeschines has never brought any action against him. πέφηνγε 'has been a defendant in.'

οἱ διαπολιτευόμενοι 'the rival statesmen,' 'the statesmen of rival parties.' For this sense of 'rivalry' conveyed by διὰ in composition cp. διατοξέυσθαι, διακοντίζεσθαι, διορχεῖσθαι (Ar. *Vesp.* 1499), διακίδειν (Theocr. *Id.* 5, 22), διαπίνειν (Herod. 9, 16) and others.

195 ἐκείθεν 'from the following instance.' § 168.

'Αρχίος We know of one case, namely that of the orator Lysias' citizenship. See on § 187.

Θρασύβουλον...Φυλῆς. See Demosth. *de F. L.* § 321, and notes on §§ 181, 187. Weidner omits αὐτῷ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς, while Cobet would omit the whole clause ἕνα το Φυλῆς on the ground that Thrasybulus, the hero of the restoration, would not be spoken of as 'one of those who returned, quasi gregarius miles aut unus de multis juisset.' But the point of their having been associated on that occasion needs to be emphasized here.

εἶλε 'secured his condemnation.' In this sense αἰρεῖν is used (1) with the accusative of the person, Isaeus 78, 86, τετελευτηκότα παρανοίας αἰρήσετε, Arist. Nub. 591, Κλέωνα δῶρων ἐλόντες καὶ κλοπῆς. (2) with γραφήν, Antiph. 2 § 5, γραφὰς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας διώξας οὐδεμίαν εἶλεν. (3) with two accusatives, Isaeus 64, 10 δίκας εἶλεν Εὐπολιν δύο.

νεωστλ...εὐεργεσιῶν 'though he had in his favour the fact that his services to the state were quite recent.' ἐκείνῳ is not dat. of the agent, but of advantage, in the sense of ὑπάρχειν τινὶ εὐεργεσίας § 169.

ὑπελογίσαντο 'took into account.' Cp. Demosth. *de Cor.* 99, 100.

ἐξελαύνειν 'that he was practically driving them into exile,' i.e. that by proposing illegal measures he was again destroying the democracy.

196 ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν 'but this is not the way now-a-days.'

σιτήσεις. The Prytanies were required to spend the whole day in their office, and sometimes the night also (*Andoc. de Myst.* 45), consequently a lunch (ἄριστον) and an evening meal (δείπνον, Demosth. *de Cor.* 169) were provided for them, originally in the Prytaneium, but later in the Θόλος or Round house built for their convenience close to the βουλευτήριον. Pollux 8, 155 ἡ Θόλος ἐν ᾗ συνεδείπνου ἐκάστης ἡμέρας πεντήκοντα τῆς τῶν πεντακοσίων βουλῆς, ἡ πρυτανεύουσα φυλή. Pausan. 1, 5, 1 τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τῶν πεντακοσίων πλησίον Θόλος ἐστὶ καλουμένη, καὶ θύουσὶ τε ἐνταῦθα οἱ πρυτάνεις. But besides the πρυτάνεις certain other persons had the privilege of being thus maintained, and they appear to have continued to get their meals in the Old Prytaneium, which was higher up the hill and further from the βουλευτήριον. There were (1) certain officials, ἱεροκέρυξ, ἱεροφάντης, δαδοῦχος, checking clerk (ἀντιγραφεὺς), the clerk of the Boulè and of the ecclesia etc. (*C. I. G.* 184); (2) a number of persons entertained for special reasons, whom Pollux (9, 40) thus distinguishes: (1) ambassadors (οἱ κατὰ δημοσίαν πρεσβείαν ἦγοντες, cp. Arist. *Ach.* 124); (2) citizens or others who had done good service to the State (οἱ διὰ πρᾶξιν τινα σιτήσεως ἀξιοθέντες); (3) those who had been granted perpetual maintenance (εἰ τις ἐκ τιμῆς ἀλείσιτος ᾗν), such as the children of Aristides (*Plut. Arist.* 27) and the descendants of Harmodius and Aristogeiton. A single invitation to the πρυτανεῖον was also generally given with a vote of thanks to those who had been employed on public service. Demosth. *de F. L.* § 35. J. G. Frazer in *Journal of Philology*, vol. xiv. p. 145.

τῶν...εὐρημένων 'some of those who have been granted this



maintenance,' see on § 162. Herod. 9, 26 τότε εὐρόμεθα τοῦτο 'we then obtained this privilege.'

ἐξαιτοῦνται 'try to obtain rejection of suits for παράνομα as a personal favour.' The word is generally used with accus. of the person whose pardon is desired. Lys. 14 § 20 εἰάν μὲν τινες τῶν συγγενῶν αὐτὸν ἐξαιτῶνται.

τοιαύτη...ἦν. Cp. §§ 137, 234.

οἱ νόμοι σώζουσι. Cp. § 6: in *Timarch.* § 30 εὖ δ' ἴστε, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι τὰ μὲν τῶν δημοκρατουμένων σάματα καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν οἱ νόμοι σώζουσι. [Cobet would omit οἱ θεοὶ καὶ as being out of place.]

197 τίς...σώφρωνι 'what line of argument has been indicated (by the laws) for the use of an advocate who is influenced by justice and a sense of propriety?' If he is δίκαιος he will not wish to take any advantage to enable him to defeat the law, if he is σώφρων he will be restrained by self-respect.

εἰς τρία μέρος. This triple division of the day was made by the water-clock (κλεψύδρα, τὸ ὕδωρ) which was under the care of an official called ὁ ἐφ' ὕδωρ (Pollux 8, 113). It was his business to see that the three portions were exactly equal. When the time allowed came to an end he stopped the water by means of a valve (ἡλίσκος, Pollux 10, 61); or if, during the time allowed for the speech, certain documents were to be read which were not to be taken from the time allowed to the orator. See Demosth. in *Steph. A.* § 8. Some trials however were not so arranged and were said to be χωρὶς ὕδατος. For the whole subject see Harpocrat. s.v. διαμεμετρημένη ἡμέρα. And Schömann *Der Attische Process*, pp. 927—931 (ed. 1887).

ὅταν εἰσὶν γραφή. See on § 191.

καὶ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα λέγουσι 'for those who speak to the merits of the case': i.e. the συνήγοροι of the defendant. But Aeschines wishes to insinuate that those only are admitted to speak who discuss the question itself, to the exclusion of those who appeal to pity, character, and the like. They should be συνήγοροι of the *psephisma* not of its proposer. § 206.

μὴ λυθῇ 'is not refuted.' The 'first vote' is taken after the defendant's speech and those of his συνήγοροι, and decides whether the proposal is παράνομον or no. If the former, the jury then have to assess the penalty, and on that point the parties are heard again. There was no limit as to the punishment for it was an ἀγὼν τιμητός, one in which the prosecutor and defendant each assessed the punishment, the jury choosing between the two. See Schömann *Att. Proc.* p. 208 (ed. 1887).

198 τὴν ψήφον αἰτεῖ 'asks for your vote in his favour,'

rather than argues on equitable principles,—though he admits that this is comparatively excusable as being in the way of a humble deprecation of anger.

ψῆφον αἰτεῖ, ὄρκον αἰτεῖ, see on § 157. The man who ‘asks’ for the vote on the main question as a favour, asks for what no citizen has a right to ask or to give, for it belongs to the law and the constitution, and should be given only in accordance with their spirit.

αὐτούς, i.e. the *συνήγοροι* of Ctesiphon.

διενεγκεῖν ‘leaving you to give your votes according to the laws.’ “Διαφέρειν ψῆφον dicitur de pluribus qui viritim suffragia de eadem re ferunt. Isocr. xv. § 173, λέγειν ἅπερ ἐγὼ νῦν περὶ τοὺς μέλλοντας περὶ ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ψῆφον διοίσειν.” Bremi.

ἀπαντᾶν εἰς τὴν τίμησιν ‘to present themselves and devote their arguments to the assessment,’—to reserve their appeals till the time comes to assess the penalty. Aeschines assumes that the *συνήγοροι* can have nothing to say to the question of the illegality of Ctesiphon’s proposal, for that is patent and admits of simple and conclusive proof; their only *locus standi* is an appeal for mercy at the assessment.

199 μόνον ‘applicable to suits for unconstitutional proposals alone.’

τὸ δίκαιον ‘the rights of the case,’ ‘the question of guilt or innocence.’

τὸν κανόνα προσφέρομεν ‘we apply the carpenter’s rule,’ cp. Timaeus ap. Polyb. 12, 12, 1, who uses the metaphor of truth in history, which is as essential as straightness in a carpenter’s rule.

200 τουτὶ τὸ σανίδιον ‘this small tablet,’ on which the psephisma and the laws alleged to be broken by it are written side by side. Lysias xvi. § 6. It was covered with gypsum, and was therefore called a λεύκωμα, Lys. ix. § 6; Demosth. in Timocr. § 23, ὁ δὲ τιθεὶς τὸν καινὸν νόμον ἀναγράφας εἰς λεύκωμα ἐκτιθέτω πρόσθε τῶν ἐπωνύμων ὁσημέραι ἕως ἂν ἡ ἐκκλησία γένηται,—see the passage which follows this law for the procedure. Schömann, *Att. Proc.* (1887) p. 801.

τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ οἱ παραγεγραμμένοι νόμοι are included in the σανίδιον. For the latter see Demosth. *de Cor.* § 111.

κατάβαινε, addressed to Ctesiphon.

παρακαλεῖν ‘to summon as a *συνήγορος*,’ generally of a witness, Demosth. *ad Macart.* § 70 μάρτυρας ὑμῖν τούτων παρεξόμεθα τοὺς τε προσχώρους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὓς παρεκαλέσαμεν. Demosthenes protests against this attempt to prevent his getting a hearing, *de Cor.* § 13.

ὑπερπηδήσας, expressing the violence and audacity of the proceeding, cp. παραπηδήσειαν § 192.

τὴν δικάϊαν ἀπολογίαν 'the defence which rests on an appeal to the legal issue.'

τεχνίτην λόγων 'a professional pleader.' Cp. in *Timarch.* § 170, Dem. c. *Androt.* § 4, ἔστι γὰρ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τεχνίτης τοῦ λέγειν καὶ πάντα τὸν βίον ἐσχόλακεν ἐνὶ τούτῳ. It is an obvious appeal to the prejudice against professional speech-writers, which Aeschines can make with greater force perhaps than Demosthenes, as he was not of the profession.

κλέπτεις τὴν ἀκρόασιν. Cp. § 200. καταλύεις § 191.

201—212 The only security the jury have against these artifices is to insist on Ctesiphon sticking to the point, and trying only to show that his psephisma does not violate the laws; and again to refuse to allow him to call Demosthenes. If, however, you do allow this, you must insist that Demosthenes shall follow the order of my accusation, viz. (1) to show that the psephisma is not against the law in proposing to crown an ὑπεύθυνος, (2) that the proposal as to the proclamation is not illegal both as to time and place, (3) to show that I am wrong in asserting that he is unworthy of the crown both from his private and public career (and observe that it is the latter on which I laid most emphasis). Don't let him vary this order: if you do he will divert your attention by his tears and oratorical artifices from the true point at issue. Meet all these theatrical displays with persistent incredulity, and a constant reference to the interests of the country which he has endangered. Besides, what need has he of all these pathetic appeals? It is Ctesiphon that is in danger, not Demosthenes. There is no fear of his feeling the slight so deeply as to kill himself like Ajax.

201 ἐνταυθοῖ deictic, 'to the defendant's bema.' τοῦτο δὴ...αὐτῷ, 'this fine opening speech which has been assigned to him.' The defence was conducted by agreement among the συνήγοροι, no doubt acting on the advice of the most experienced among them, in this case Demosthenes. Each was to speak to a special part of the case. Thus in the c. *Androtion*a Diodorus, the prosecutor, speaks second to certain points untouched by the previous speaker Euctemon. And again in *Lysias* 28, a speaker appeals to the jury to punish Ergocles, without touching on the evidence which had been spoken to by others. See Schömann, *Att. Proc.* (ed. 1887), p. 920—25. The force of δὴ is that of contemptuous irony.

προοίμιον is here used to mean 'an introductory' or 'first speech' in a defence. In II. § 34 it means the introductory



part of a speech φθέγγεται τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο προοίμιον σκοτεινὸν καὶ τεθηγκὸς δειλία.

ἐνδιατρίβη καὶ μὴ ἀπολογῆται 'and then begins wasting time instead of entering upon his defence.' ἐνδιατρίβειν 'to introduce delays,' used of a man finding excuses for not fulfilling a contract, see *Dem. in Olympiod.* § 19 ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐνδιέτριβε καὶ οὐδὲν ἐποίει.

ἄνευ θορύβου 'without any loud expressions of disapprobation.' Such cries or *mouvements* on the part of the jury seem to have been common. Socrates deprecates it, *Apol. c.* 18 μὴ θορυβεῖτε, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι κ.τ.λ. Cp. also *Demosth. de Cor.* § 52.

τὸ σανίδιον, see § 200.

παρاناγνῶναι 'to read by way of comparison,' cp. § 200; *Dem. de Cor.* § 267.

μὴ προσποιῆται 'pretends not to hear you,' as in οὐ δοκεῖ (*Arist. Eq.* 1146, *Plut.* 837), οὐ φημί, οὐκ ἔω and the like.

τῶν φευγόντων 'those who shun.' Others read τὰς οὐ δικαίας ἀπολογίας 'those who make defences not founded on the principles of law.' In this case φεύγειν ἀπολογίαν is an extension of the meaning of φεύγειν δίκην 'to be a defendant,' and so 'to put forward as a defence,' Lat. *defendere*, followed by the plea put forward.

ἀκροασόμενοι 'to listen to' like the pupils or audience at a lecture.

202 τὴν δικαίαν ἀπολογίαν, 'the defence grounded on the legal issue.' § 200. By calling Demosthenes, Aeschines means, Ctesiphon abandons the simple issue—'is my psephisma unconstitutional or no?'—and puts the personal question in the front.

μάλιστα μὲν 'if possible' or 'best of all:' answered by ἄν δ' ἄρα.

κακοῦργον ἄνθρωπον. Weidner omits these words as a repetition of § 16. In some mss. they are preceded by σοφιστήν. Cobet would omit the whole clause from κακοῦργον to ἀναιρήσειν.

ῥήμασι 'mere words,' § 92.

ἐν ἀρετῇ καταλογιζέσθω 'regard it as meritorious,' i.e. as a sign of his kindness and impartiality. For ἐν ἀρετῇ 'under the heading of kindness' cp. 1, 126 παραφέρει δ' αὐτὸν ἐν σκώματος μέρει. Lutz die Präpositionen bei den Attischen Rednern p. 36. καταλογιζεσθαι 'to reckon,' 'to put down,' Isaeus 89 καταλογίζεται τοίνυν ὡς ἐγὼ τρεῖς κλήρους ἐληφώς κ.τ.λ.

ὅς ἂν...πρῶτος ἀναβοήσῃ 'who shall have been the first to shout out.'

εἰ καλέσῃ Δημοσθένην 'whether he is to call Demosthenes.' The deliberative subjunctive retained with εἰ in *oratio obliqua*, on the dramatic principle, whereby the mood and tense which would have been used in direct discourse is retained. Cp. 2 § 68 ἀνακοινοῦσθαι αὐτὸν αὐτῷ εἰ δῶ ἐπιψηφίσαι τοῖς προέδροις... Herod. 6, 36 ἐστάλη ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρησόμενος...εἰ ποιήῃ τὰ περ...προσεδέοντο. ib. c. 86 ἐπειρωτέοντα δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ χρηστήριον, εἰ ὄρκω τὰ χρήματα λήϊσται. Goodwin *Moods and Tenses* § 680.

ἂν δ' ἄρα 'but if after all,' 'if by any chance,' cp. §§ 163, 193. It answers to μάλιστα μέν above.

τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον. Demosthenes in the *de Coron.* § 9 gives a reason for not following the order of Aeschines' speech.

203 ἐγὼ δὲ...ὑπομνήσω ὑμᾶς. The sentence would naturally run 'In order to remind you I will tell you how I conducted my accusation,' but the place of the apodosis is taken by a rhetorical question. Cp. Demosth. *de Cor.* §§ 126, 294.

πρότερον, that is 'before touching on the legal question.'

ἄφθονα δῆπου καὶ πολλά. Cobet would omit καὶ πολλά on the ground that ἄφθονα is stronger than πολλά.

ἢ πάντων γ' ἂν εἴην ἀπορώτατος 'or I must be the most helpless of mortals.'

πρῶτον §§ 13—31.

οὐδὲν προβαλλόμενον 'without taking any precautions to protect himself.' On the whole the present—which the mss. give—seems preferable to the aorist, as giving the state of the case generally; when one definite omission is meant he uses the aorist (οὐδὲ προσεγγράψαντα). For the word see Demosth. *de Cor.* 97, 195, 285, 300. It is a metaphor from holding the shield before one.

οὐδὲ προσεγγράψαντα 'and without even having added the saving clause.'

τὰς ἐσομένας προφάσεις 'the pretexts which are going to be set up' §§ 28—31.

204 δεύτερον δὲ...κηρυγμάτων §§ 32—50.

ὁ φεύγων τὴν γραφὴν 'the defendant on the indictment,' sc. Ctesiphon. For the phrase see on § 201.

οὐδ' ἐκκλησιαζόντων Ἀθηναίων 'and not even when the ecclesia is taking place there,' i.e. in the Theatre. See De-

mosth. *Mid.* § 9 ποιεῖν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐν Διονύσου. The various theatres in Greek towns are often mentioned as places of assembly; but the Dionysian Theatre at Athens, though begun many years before, was always in a state of building until the administration of Lycurgus (B.C. 328 or 326), and perhaps therefore it was found inconvenient to have assemblies there more frequently than was necessary. See Plutarch, *X Orat. Lycurg.* 346 c; Hypereid. fr. xxxii.

μικρὰ μὲν περὶ τῶν ιδίων §§ 51—3.

περὶ τῶν δημοσίων §§ 54—167. It is true that the formal attack upon Demosthenes' private character is brief compared to that upon his public career; but, on the other hand, it is more or less continuous throughout the speech by means of innuendoes and epithets; and is again and again recurred to, as in §§ 171—176.

205 οὕτω δὴ 'just in this way, then,'—a combination frequently used to sum up a series of preceding remarks. See on § 189.

τρίτον δὲ λέγω 'and thirdly (and this is the most important point) I am now engaged in showing that Demosthenes does not deserve the reward at all,'—let alone the question of the illegality in its mode and time of bestowal. Aeschines uses the present λέγω here; for although, ever since § 51, this argument has been going on, it is not yet finished.

κατεπαγγελλόμενος 'confidently promising,' the κατὰ seems only to strengthen ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι, cp. § 123. In neither case does there seem any notion conveyed of doing it 'against anyone,'—which Mr Simcox tries to extract from it. Still there is a certain idea of exaggeration and perhaps aggressiveness conveyed by it. Compare the use of καταδοκέω in Herodotus (3, 27; 6, 16; 8, 4, 69) which, though only a strengthened form of δοκέω, yet generally conveys an idea of suspicion.

λύσει τὸ παράνομον 'that he will refute the charge of illegality,' 'that he will speak to the legal point.' § 197. Demosthenes in fact did not put this off to the end of his speech: it comes in the middle of *de Cor.* §§ 110—121.

πάλαισμα...δικαστηρίου 'a trick of the law-court,' 'a lawyer's feint.' The metaphor of course is from the wrestler's or boxer's arena, and is dwelt on further in the next section. These metaphors are frequent in Aristophanes. See *Eq.* 264 of proceedings in a law-court; and the expression ἔχομαι μέσος *Eq.* 387; *Ach.* 571. Cp. *Nub.* 1047.



ἐισαυθίς ποτε 'at any future time,' 'at any later period of his speech.' πρὸς τὸ παράνομον 'with reference to the question of illegality,' as we say 'to speak to a point.'

παρεμβολῇ 'by interpolating other matters,' 'by the insidious introduction of other things.' Cp. Demosth. in Boeot. de dote matr. § 61 εἰδὲν δὲ μὴ ἔχων περὶ ὧν φεύγει τὴν δίκην μήτε μάρτυρας ἀξιόχρεως παρασχέσθαι ... ἐτέρους παρεμβάλλη λόγους κακουργῶν... Aeschin. 1 § 166 οὕτω σαφῶς τούτων διωρισμένων πολλαὶ παρεμβολαὶ λόγων ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους εὐρηθήσονται.

βούλεται 'he intends.'

206 περὶ τῆς στάσεως 'to get the best position.' Thus in Theocritus (22, 83) Amycus and Polydeuces are represented as struggling for a long time each to secure such a position as to have the sun on his back:

ἐνθα πολὺς σφισι μύχθος ἐπειγομένοισιν ἐτύχθη  
ὀππότερος κατὰ νῶτα λάβη φάος ἡελίοιο.

διαγωνιζομένους, for the force of διὰ in such compositions see on διαπολιτευόμενοι § 194.

περὶ τῆς τάξεως τοῦ λόγου 'as to the order of his speech,' i.e. the order in which he treats the arguments, as laid down in §§ 203—4. Demosthenes (de Cor. § 2) declares that the spirit of the laws and the jurors' oath is τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ, ὡς βεβούληται καὶ προήρηται τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἕκαστος οὕτως εἶσαι χρήσασθαι.

περίστασθαι 'to manœuvre himself out of the question of illegality,' the metaphor of the boxer trying to shift his ground to what suits him better is kept up. The Schol. says περίστασθαι ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐξίστασθαι καὶ καταφεύγειν. Here it is used of conscious action, but it is more often employed to mean the result of circumstances, cp. Thucyd. 1. 78, 1 μηχανόμενος γὰρ (πόλεμος) φιλεῖ εἰς τύχας τὰ πολλὰ περίστασθαι 'for a war if prolonged generally becomes a matter of chance.' So here it might be explained 'to become, as a result of his manœuvres, outside the question of illegality.'

The mss. have [εἰς τοὺς] ἔξω τοῦ παρανόμου [λόγους] περίστασθαι. Franke omits the words bracketed. Two mss. omit λόγους, the Vatican and Laurentian; several omit εἰς τοὺς.

ἐγκαθήμενοι... ἐνεδρεύοντες... εἰσελαύνετε... εἰς τοὺς λόγους seem to continue the metaphor from the arena; but it is not clear exactly how they do so. The two first both mean 'lying in ambush,' and if they are to be referred to the boxing ring must mean persons placed to watch that the combatants do not get outside the ground assigned: but εἰσελαύνετε, 'drive him back,' is a change of metaphor and refers to racing, and

the swerving out of the course, as in Arist. *Nub.* 25 Φίλων, ἀδικεῖς· ἔλανε τὸν σαντοῦ δρόμον. Cp. 1, 176 ὑμέτερον δ' ἔργον πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντιτετάχθαι καὶ πανταχῇ παρακολουθοῦντας μηδαμῇ παρεκκλίνειν αὐτὸν ἑὰν μηδὲ τοὺς ἔξω τοῦ ἀγῶνος λόγοις δισχυρίζεσθαι ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς ἵπποδρομαῖς εἰς τὸν τοῦ πράγματος δρόμον εἰσελαύνετε.

τὰς ἐκτροπὰς αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων 'his digressions from the (direct) issues.' Plato *Politicus* 267 α καλῶς...ἀπέδωκάς μοι τὸν λόγον, προσθεὶς τὴν ἐκτροπὴν οἷον τόκον. But it also here refers to the idea of 'shirking' or 'avoiding' shewn in the verb ἐκτρέπεσθαι, cp. Arist. *Plut.* 837 οἱ δ' ἐξετρέποντο κοῦκ ἐδόκουν ὀρᾶν μ' ἔτι.

207 τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον 'in the (wrong) way I have described,' i.e. allowing Ctesiphon to make a preliminary speech without touching on the legal issue, and then to call Demosthenes. See § 102. This was the ἀπολογία οὐ δικαία to which the jury had not come into court to listen idly (ἀκροασόμενοι).

Great difficulty has been felt at explaining τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον as referring to something so far back: and some editors have proposed to read ἐὰν μὴ τοῦτον κ.τ.λ. But the words ἀλλ' ἂ δὴ συμβήσεται 'but what will really happen to you' indicate that he is returning to a point after a digression or rather amplification of details, which in this case appears to extend from ἐπὶ σαντὸν καλεῖς (§ 202) to the end of § 206.

ἐπεισάξει 'he will bring into court superfluously,' as an additional actor on the stage. Cp. Polyb. 24, 8, 11 (23, 10, 11 ed. Hultsch.) τρίτον δ' ἡ τύχη δρᾶμα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἐπεισήγαγε. § 153 τοῖς ἐπεισιούσιν.

τὸν γόητα cp. § 137. βαλαντιοτόμον 'cutpurse.' Schol. ἀντὶ τοῦ τὸν ληστήν. ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ληστῶν τῶν τεμνόντων τὰ βαλάντια κάτωθεν τῶν βασταζόντων, ἵνα ἐκπέσῃ τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς. It has no definite reference here, but is a general allusion to Demosthenes' alleged dishonesty, § 173.

διατετμηκότα τὴν πολιτείαν 'a man who has cut the constitution to pieces'—'has made havoc of the constitution' like a butcher, cp. Her. 2, 41 οὐδὲ κρέως καθαροῦ βοῦς διετετμημένου Ἑλληνικῇ μαχαίρῃ γεύσεται. The metaphor changes, just as in the case of εἰσελαύνετε § 206. It is a strange and unexampled expression, and has been explained in various ways. (1) Bremi explains it of a man *qui partes in civitate ercitat*. But Aeschines means more,—that Demosthenes has ruined the constitution by his evil influences and illegal practices. (2) Weidner of bleeding the state and draining it of all strength—um dem Staate das Mark auszusaugen. But the meaning of διατέμνειν

is not this, and the explanation takes πολιτεία as equivalent to πόλις. Cp. Lord Byron's brutal epigram:

So *He* has cut his throat at last!—He! who?  
The man who cut his country's long ago.

**κλαίει.** Aeschines refers to Demosthenes' tears in 2, 85 ὁ μὲν τοίνυν ἐπιδακρύσας ἀρτίως ἐνταυθὶ Δημοσθένης.

**μεταβαλλόμενος** 'suddenly changing his tactics:' it is a military word 'facing round;' and then applied to change of purpose, Herod. 5, 75 μετεβάλλοντό τε καὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο.

**τοῖς ἔξω περιεστηκόσι** the spectators standing outside the space allotted for the jurors, advocates etc., cp. 2, § 5 ἢ τῶν ἔξωθεν περιεστηκότων τις, σχεδὸν δ' οἱ πλείστοι τῶν πολιτῶν πάρεσιν, ἢ τῶν δικάζοντων ὑμῶν. **λοιδορεῖσθαι** is to abuse people who are present.

**φάσκων**, generally used with an idea of insincerity. Cp. Lys. 10 § 9; 12 §§ 5, 34; 32 § 7. Demosthenes does not take the line which Aeschines here anticipates.

**τοὺς ὀλιγαρχικοὺς** 'the oligarchical party,' and so 'the party of disorder' see § 170.

**ὑπ' αὐτῆς...διηριθμημένους** 'who are really and truly distinguished as such'—'the undoubted and notorious oligarchs.' So Plato *Phaedr.* 273 E τὰς φύσεις διαριθμήσασθαι 'to enumerate in different classes,' 'to distinguish under different categories.'

**τὸ τοῦ κατηγοροῦ βῆμα** 'the accuser's platform.' In the law courts there were two, furnished with seats, one for the accuser, the other for the defendant. Cp. Demosth. in *Olympiod.* § 31 καὶ γὰρ, ὡς ἄνδρες δικάσταί, σιωπῇ ἐκαθήμην ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου βήματος. This like the *bema* in the Pnyx is called by Aristophanes (*Acharn.* 683) ὁ λίθος. Cp. § 257.

208 πρὸς τοὺς στασιαστικοὺς λόγους 'in answer to these arguments which are meant to produce party-feeling.'

**οὐκ ἂν ποθ' ἡ δημοκρατία κατέστη** 'the democracy would never have become settled and quiet.' Cp. Arist. *Equit.* 865

ὅταν μὲν ἡ λίμνη καταστῇ, λαμβάνουσιν οὐδὲν  
ἐὰν δ' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω τὸν βόρβορον κυκῶσιν,  
αἰροῦσι· καὶ σὺ λαμβάνεις, ἦν τὴν πόλιν ταράττης.

**νῦν δὲ** 'but as it is.'

**τὸ κάλλιστον ἐκ παιδείας** 'the most glorious word which culture teaches,' 'the fairest outcome of civilisation.' Aeschines is fond of coining expressions with ἐκ,—thus 1, 138 τὸ καλὸν ἐκ τῶν γυμνασίων; sup. § 150 τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας αἰσχρὸν; 180 τὸ ἀείμνηστον ἐκ τῆς νίκης; 1, 79 οἱ ἐκ τῆς διατριβῆς ταύτης



'men of that way of life' (gamblers); 1, 83 τὰς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων πληγὰς 'the soundest thrashing in the world.' 2, 168 τὰς ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἐξόδους...ἐξῆλθον 'I was on every succeeding expedition.' Lutz *Präpositionen* p. 54. For παιδεία see §§ 117, 260.

μη̄ μνησικακεῖν. An amnesty for all offences committed during the year of anarchy [404—3] was part of the agreement come to on the fall of the Thirty. Xen. *Hell.* ii. 4, 38; Plutarch *Glor. Ath.* c. 7. The amnesty was well observed, although certain persons still suffered from partial ἀτιμία, for instance those who had served in the cavalry under the Thirty, Andoc. *de Myst.* § 75; Lysias 16 § 4; 26 § 10; and every opportunity was taken to get rid of them, Xen. *Hellen.* 3, 1, 4.

ἐλκοποιεῖς 'rip up old sores.' So far from observing the amnesty, you do your best to remind everyone of old grievances. The word seems to be an ἄπαξ λεγ. Hesychius has ἐλκοποιὸν 'a blister.'

τῶν αὐθιμερὸν λόγων 'the pleadings of to-day.' You care more for the result of to-day's speeches than for the welfare of the city. Many mss. have αὐθιμέρων and some Edd. translate 'extemporary speeches,' but there seems no point in that. The meaning of αὐθιμερὸν seems to be 'speeches the interest of which is but for to-day' in comparison with the lasting interests of the State. *Orationes, quae, quum habentur, plausum ferunt, qui tamen cito perit, quum perspicitur, si eas in agendo sequamur, nil nasci nisi infortunium.* Bremi.

τὴν διὰ τῶν ὀρκων πίστιν 'the confidence which oaths of his can give.'

καταφυγγάνῃ. See Veitch s.v. φυγγάνω.

ἀπομνημονεύσατε. See § 48 n. § 85.

πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς rightly objected to by Dobree, and excluded from the text by Franke, Weidner and Simcox. It is nonsense to say that 'a man expecting to be believed by the same audience must have a different audience.' Cobet also wishes to strike out ὦν οὐδέτερόν ἐστι Δημοσθένει ὑπάρχον, but this is not so certain.

θεοὺς καινοὺς gods who did not hear the former oaths, and who do not punish perjury; for our gods know all things. A change of gods means a change in the providential arrangements of the universe. χρῆν σ' ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς ἄρα | πατέρα φυντεύει ἡ 'πὶ δεσπόταις θεοῖς | ἀλλοισιν—says the nurse to Phaedra, Eurip. *Hipp.* 460. *Med.* 492 ὀρκων δὲ φρούδη πίστις, οὐδ' ἔχω μαθεῖν | εἰ θεοὺς νομίζεις τοὺς τότε οὐκ ἄρχειν ἔτι | ἐπεὶ ξύνοισθά γ' εἰς ἔμ' οὐκ εὖορκος ὦν.

209 τοῦ τόνου τῆς φωνῆς. See Demosthenes' answer *de Cor.* § 280. For the difficulties which Demosthenes had to struggle with from a naturally defective voice and utterance, see Plutarch *Dem.* c. xi. *Vit. X. Or.* 359 E, while Aeschines was εὐφωγος (*Vit. X. Or.* 343 D), hence Demosthenes twits him with cultivating his voice (πεφωνασκηκῶς) *de Cor.* § 308.

περιγράψατε...ἀναπτήσομαι 'exclude me from all share in public affairs,—there is no place to which I can fly.' Cp. § 226 συκοφαντηθέντας ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας. The metaphor of περιγράφειν seems to be from the notion of drawing a line or bracket round a name to cancel it. If Demosthenes said this, he must mean that the condemnation of Ctesiphon would be practically his own ruin as a statesman, though in form it would not affect him. For the protasis and apodosis represented by an imperative and future indicative cp. Hom. *Il.* xxiii. 71 θάπτε με, ὅττι τάχιστα, πύλας Ἀἴδαο περήσω. Sometimes with καί, as Plat. *Theaet.* 145 c λαβὲ, καὶ εἴσει. It is a rhetorical way of expressing 'If you exclude me, I shall have no place to fly to.' Donald. *Gr. Gr.* § 520. Weidner writes περιεγράψατε and omits ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας. But the first would not be true before the verdict, and the latter alteration seems to be for the worse, and is against all mss. but one.

ποῖαν...ποῖα generally used when the insinuation is that the things referred to are non-existent or not to be thought of in the circumstances. Arist. *Ach.* 62 ποῖον βασιλέως; *Nub.* 367 ποῖος Ζεὺς; οὐ μὴ ληρήσεις; οὐδ' ἔστι Ζεὺς. *ib.* 247 ποῖους θεοὺς ὁμεί σύ; πρῶτον γὰρ θεοὶ | ἡμῖν νόμισμ' οὐκ ἔστι. *Soph. Oed. R.* 1489

ποῖας γὰρ ἀστῶν ἤξει' εἰς ὀμιλίας;  
ποῖας δ' ἑορτάς, ἔνθεν οὐ κεκλαυμέναι  
πρὸς οἶκον ἵξασθ' ἀντὶ τῆς θεωρίας;

τί προβαλλόμενος...πεπολίτευσαι; 'What provision for the safety of the people has accompanied your political measures?' Grammatically ὑπὲρ δήμου is connected with πεπολίτευσαι, and one ms. has a second τι before πεπολίτευσαι which Weidner retains. It is a case in which the participle and verb seem to change places, the principal idea being contained in the participle. Cp. § 227; *Thucyd.* 1, 19 οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐχ ὑποτελεῖς ἔχοντες φόρου τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἡγούντο. *Madv. G. Synt.* § 176 b. For the meaning of προβαλλόμενος see *Dem. de Cor.* § 30 τοῦτο προυβαλόμην ἐγὼ πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅσον ἦν ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ δύνατον, καὶ τούτοις ἐτείχισα τὴν χώραν, οὐχὶ τὸν κύκλον τοῦ Πειραιῶς οὐδὲ τοῦ ἄστεως. Cp. *supr.* §§ 84, 203.

ἐκλιπὼν μὲν...ἐν Πειραιεῖ...πόλεως 'in leaving the city you are not really, as you give out, residing in the Piraeus, but are in fact starting on a voyage from the city.' He means that the

object of Demosthenes residing in his house in the Piraeus was to be able to escape by sea at any moment; which indeed may have been quite true. From Dinarch. *in Dem.* 69 it appears that Demosthenes had a house both in the Asty and in the Piraeus.

τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον. See § 173.

210 ὅλως 'after all.' τί...τίς 'to what purpose?' τόνος τῆς φωνῆς, cp. Dem. *de Cor.* § 280.

ὁ δ' ἀγὼν οὐκ ἀτίμητος. The two last words must be taken close together, and the clause be held to depend on the οὐκ (*nonne*) in the line above. 'And the suit—is it not one in which damages are to be assessed?' (οὐκ ἀτίμητος = *τιμητός*.) Bremi and Simcox try to explain this by saying that if the suit was to be assessed by the jury Ctesiphon might hope that they would take his assessment rather than that of his opponent, i.e. would take the merciful view. But in that case it was surely no matter of surprise that the orator should exert himself to avoid conviction. If the words are to stand they may mean: "this is not the time for all this excitement and zeal; reserve them for the speeches on the *τίμησις*." But perhaps it is better to omit the words as Weidner does.

περὶ τοῦ σώματος 'for your freedom.' Cp. Lys. 5 § 1 εἰ μὲν περὶ ἄλλου τινὸς ἢ τοῦ σώματος Καλλίας ἠγωνίζετο κ.τ.λ. 23 § 12 εὖ εἰδὼς ἐαυτὸν ὄντα δοῦλον ἔδεισεν ἐγγυητὰς καταστήσας περὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀγωνίσασθαι. σῶμα like Lat. *caput* included a man's civil status. Not that Ctesiphon's *freedom* was at stake.

ἐπιτιμίας the opposite of ἀτιμίας, 'the possession of full citizen rights,' cp. *de Cor.* § 15 οὐδαμοῦ δ' ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀπηνητήκως ἐμοὶ τὴν ἐτέρου ζητῶν ἐπιτιμίαν ἀφελέσθαι φαίνεται. A man thrice convicted of παράνομα was ἀτιμος, but he might also become so by failing to pay a fine imposed upon him, and Aeschines had laid the penalty at the impossible sum of 50 talents.

ἡ σπουδή, cp. Dem. *de Cor.* § 5 οἶμαι δ' ὑμᾶς πάντας, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἂν ὁμολογῆσαι κοινὸν εἶναι τουτοῖ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐμοὶ καὶ Κτησιφῶντι καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλάττονος ἄξιον σπουδῆς ἐμοί.

211 ὃν ἔχρην 'and this by a man who ought to have come forward and said.' The relative is thus used without definite antecedent to refer to a person to whose conduct the preceding clauses apply. See Lysias 7 § 23 δεινότερα οὖν πάσχω· ὅς εἰ μὲν παρέσχετο μάρτυρας τούτοις ἂν ἤξιον πιστεύειν ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐκ εἰσὶν αὐτῷ, ἐμοὶ καὶ ταύτην τὴν ζημίαν οἶεται χρῆναι γενέσθαι. Cp. *id.* 13 § 86.

ἐπὶ τοιαύτης ἀκαιρίας 'in such unfortunate circumstances,' 'at such an unpropitious time,' i.e. when the state is in such



distress and despair as in the period after the battle of Chaeroneia. **ἀκαιρία** (1) 'difficulty' Dem. *Olynth.* 1 § 24 ἀκαιρίαν τὴν ἐκείνου καιρὸν ὑμέτερον νομίσαντες, (2) active, 'unseasonableness'. 'want of consideration for the circumstances of the case.' Theophr. *Char.* 12.

ἐν ᾧ τὸ κήρυγμα γίγνεται 'emblemata arguitur et ex sententia non idonea et ex importuna sede,' Cobet. Weidner, on the other hand, thinks the words cannot be spared, for it was by the proclamation of the decree that the ἀκαιρία was first made conspicuous. There seems no reason to depart here from the MSS.

ἐκείρατο 'went into mourning,' lit. cut the hair; joined with πενθεῖν in [Lysias] *Epitaph.* 70 ὥστ' ἄξιον ἦν ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ τάφῳ τότε κείρασθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ πενθεῖν τοὺς ἐνθάδε κειμένους.

μετ' ἀρετῆς 'virtuously' 'with virtuous motives,' cp. Andoc. *Myist.* § 56 εἶπον δὲ ἃ ἤκουσα Εὐφίλητον... μετ' ἀρετῆς ἀλλ' οὐ μετὰ κακίας.

κάθαρμα 'a worthless abominable wretch,' see on Dem. *de Cor.* § 128; Aristoph. *Eq.* 1144; *Ran.* 734.

212 μὰ Ἡρακλέα, Aeschines appears to swear by Hercules here, as the emblem of that manhood which Demosthenes lacked.

διαφέρων § 178.

διαχρήσεται. Demosthenes is no Ajax to kill himself for shame and mortification at missing the prize of valour.

ὅς 'a man who' *quippe qui ita irrideat*, see § 211. Lysias 7 § 15, πολλὰς γὰρ αὖ καὶ μεγάλας ἐμαντῷ ζημίας γενομένας ἀποφῆναιμι· ὅς πρῶτον μὲν μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐξέκοπτον τὸν σηκόν κ.τ.λ.

τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς φιλοτιμίας 'of honour in your eyes,' i.e. as to whether he gains your approval or no.

ὑπεύθυνον §§ 13—31. Demosthenes was ὑπεύθυνος when the indictment was laid, but not when the speech was delivered.

οὗτος Ctesiphon.

μυριάκις 'repeatedly,' an instance of extravagant rhetorical exaggeration. κατατέμῃκε 'has wounded,' as though Demosthenes inflicted the wounds on himself, a charge more than once repeated by Aeschines. See on § 51; 2 § 93.

τούτων sc. τραυμάτων.

κατακεκονδύλισται 'has been so soundly pommelled.' The word does not occur elsewhere, and even κονδυλίζειν and κονδυλῖσθαι are remarked upon as peculiar by Pollux (8, 76) who

says that they were used by Hypereides. Weidner remarks on it as an example of the *σφοδρότης* of the orator, comparing §§ 207, 208, 209.

Μεδίου, see n. on § 32.

πρόσοδον 'a source of revenue.' He makes an income out of having his head beaten. Cp. Plutarch *Nic.* 4 καὶ ὅλως πρόσοδος ἦν αὐτοῦ τοῖς τε πονηροῖς ἢ δειλία καὶ τοῖς χρηστοῖς ἢ φιλανθρωπία i.e. 'the bad made an income out of Nicias' timidity, and the good out of his generosity.' Demosth. *F. L.* § 1, 46. [Westermann conjectured a sentence containing two puns οὐ κεφαλὴν ἀλλὰ κεφάλαιον, οὐ πρόσωπον ἀλλὰ πρόσοδον κέκτηται, the first part having been first suggested by Toup. Weidner prints this in his edition of 1878. It seems a pity that Aeschines had not had one of these scholars at his side on the Bema.]

§§ 213—214 As for Ctesiphon himself you may judge by what he and Demosthenes go about saying of each other: Ctesiphon that his only danger lies in the corrupt public character of Demosthenes,—Demosthenes that his lies in the vile private character of Ctesiphon. *Arcades ambo.*

213 κὰν μὴ τις προείπη 'even without warning from anyone.'

κατ' ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν 'in regard to this precious pair.' κατὰ with the gen. does not necessarily mean 'against,' see § 50; but it may be, and more often is, used with a sense of depreciation.

περιέρχονται τὴν ἀγορὰν 'go about the agora.' The agora was the daily lounge of the Athenians, where public and private matters were discussed, and suits before the courts or coming before them were specially the subject of conversation. It was looked upon, in fact, as discreditable not to be interested in the public business. Thus in Lysias *Theomn.* § 11 the speaker reproaches his opponent with never having taken the trouble to go even to the Areopagus when the court was sitting ὑπὸ ῥαθυμίας καὶ μαλακίας. See Plut. *Sol.* 20.

214 ιδιώτης, cf. §§ 3, 114. He has no official position which can be affected by the verdict, and he hopes the jury will treat him with indulgence as a plain man, not versed in legal affairs.

τὴν ἐμπληξίαν 'his instability.' Cp. 2 § 164 ὠνειδίσας δέ μοι καὶ πολιτείας ἐμπληξίαν, εἰ πεπρεσβευκῶς πρὸς Φίλιππον πρότερον παρεκάλουν ἐπ' ἐκείνον τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

εἰς αὐτὸν μὲν ἀποβλέπων 'when his view is confined solely to himself.' For ἀποβλέπειν to turn from everything else to one

object, cp. § 230. See Dem. *de Cor.* 210 ὑμᾶς δεῖ κρίνειν...τὰς κοινὰς προαιρέσεις εἰς τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἀξιώματα ἀποβλέποντες 'with a single view to.'

οἱ κοινὸι κριταὶ 'you, who are impartial judges,' cp. Dem. *de Cor.* § 7 (of a juror) παρασχών ἑαυτὸν ἴσον καὶ κοινὸν ἀμφοτέροισι ἀκροατῇν. Here, if the juror listens impartially to both, he will form a decided opinion against each of the parties on the allegation of the other, § 51.

§§ 215—229 A defence of his own character, and a counter-picture of that of Demosthenes.—Demosthenes will attack me, not for my public acts alone, but for my frequent abstention from public business. That abstention was the result of modesty, not of a desire to avail myself of favourable opportunities. Demosthenes was only quiet when he was paid to be so, and only loud when his hire was exhausted. In a democracy an honest citizen will only speak when he sees it to be expedient, the busy-body and hireling on every possible occasion (215—220). Then he will twit me with never having prosecuted him before. Does he think the people have forgotten my attacks upon him in the matter of the Amphisian war, his corruption in Euboea, and his peculation as president of the navy fund? Or how it was under a threat of impeachment from me that he turned so basely upon Anaxinus; and how when reproached publicly by me for that wickedness he made his famous defence about 'his country's salt'? (220—225). He will reproach me with being too late to assist my dying country,—it was he that corruptly deprived it of its chances, and only escaped punishment because his fellow-citizens after the fatal battle had other more pressing business on their hands (225—227). I am a Siren, according to him, whose song brings death. Such a reproach might perhaps have come from a man who, though unversed in speech, was a brave general. But from him! A man of words and empty sound, who, take away his tongue, is as useless as a pipe without a mouth-piece! (228—229).

215 πυνθάνομαι. See on § 189.

δημιουργὸς λόγων 'a professional manufacturer of speeches.' Another fling at Demosthenes as a professional λογογράφος. See § 200 τεχνίτης λόγων.

216 τὴν ἡσυχίαν μου. See Dem. *de Cor.* §§ 198, 308. τόπος 'point' or 'topic.' The word is not used by Demosthenes in this sense. But see Isocr. *Philip.* § 109 περὶ τοίνυν Ἡρακλέους...ὁρῶ μὲν τόπον ἴδιον καὶ παντάπασιν ἀδιεξέργαστον...ποθοῦντα δὲ τὸν ἀξίως ἂν δυνηθέντα διαλεχθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν. *Hel.* § 38 ἵνα δὲ μὴ δοκῶ δι' ἀπορίαν περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον διατρίβειν.



ἀσυκοφάντητος 'untouched by his venal and malignant tongue.' Another word apparently of Aeschines' coinage.

τὰς ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις...διατριβάς. For the discredit attached to this, see 1 § 135. Also the law quoted in 1 § 12 οἱ γυμνασιάρχαι τοῖς Ἑρμαίοις μὴ ἐάτωσαν συγκαθίναί μηδένα τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τρόπῳ μηδενί· ἐὰν δὲ ἐπιτρέπη καὶ μὴ ἐξείργη τοῦ γυμνασίου, ἐνοχος ἔστω ὁ γυμνασιάρχης τῷ τῆς ἐλευθέρων φθορᾷ νόμῳ. But the gymnasia, in spite of this law, were much frequented, partly by the idle and frivolous (see Theophrastus *Char.* xxi. the fop is wont τῶν γυμνασίων ἐν τοῦτοις διατρίβειν, οὗ ἂν ἔφηβοι γυμνάζωνται), partly by the sophists: Plato *Euthyd.* 271; *Lysis*, 204. The three great Gymnasia at Athens were the Lyceum, Cynosarges and Academia. Demosthenes does not mention anything of the sort in his speech, so that Aeschines had been misinformed, and we may say *qui s'excuse s'accuse*.

κατὰ τῆσδε τῆς κρίσεως 'in regard to this trial,' see §§ 50, 213.

εὐθὺς ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου 'at the very beginning of his speech.' The charge against Aeschines of acting from motives of personal spite, and not on public grounds, is not made early in the speech. See *de Cor.* § 279, τοσούτουσι λόγους ἀνηλωκέναι ἰδίᾳς ἔχθρας καὶ φθόνου καὶ μικροψυχίας ἐστὶ σημείον, οὐδενὸς χρηστοῦ.

ἐνδεικνύμενος...ἔχθραν 'by way of currying favour with Alexander, owing to his dislike to himself (Demosthenes).' ἐνδεικνύμενος 'making a display' with a special reference to the person before whom it is made. *Dem. de Fals. Leg.* § 160 οὗτοι δ' ἐχαρίζοντο πάντ' ἐνδεικνύμενοι (sc. ἐκείνῳ) καὶ ὑπερκολακεύοντες ἐκείνον.

217 καὶ νῆ Δί', the usual formula for introducing a quotation from an opponent.

διὰ τί...ἐγραφέμην 'why I now denounce his policy as a whole, while I did not try to hinder or impeach it in detail?' *Dem. de Cor.* §§ 13, 22, 117, 124, 191, 242 and other places. Demosthenes naturally recurs to the point often, for it is a strong one. If he was ruining the state by his policy, and Aeschines knew it, his silence then must necessarily cast great suspicion on his rhetoric now. And Aeschines' anticipatory retort is feeble and shuffling to the last degree.

διαλιπὼν 'at wide intervals of time,' 'intermittently.' The fuller expression is used in § 89 μικρὸν διαλιπὼν χρόνον.

διατριβάς 'habits,' 'ways of spending one's time:' cp. p. 216, *Lys.* 16 § 11 περὶ κύβους ἢ πότους...διατριβὰς ποιούμενοι.

Andoc. 4 § 22 αἱ τῶν νέων διατριβαὶ οὐκ ἐν γυμνασίοις ἀλλ' ἐν δικαστηρίοις εἰσιν.

**βουλοίμην.** Supply ἄν from next clause.

οὔτε τὰ αὐτὰ...ἔδεξάμην ἄν ζῆν 'and I would rather have died than delivered such public speeches as he made.' Cp. 1, 55 ταῦτ' ἐγὼ λόγῳ σαφῶς ἐν ὑμῖν εἰπὼν οὐκ ἄν ἐδεξάμην ζῆν.

218 ἡ τοῦ βίου μετριότης 'my modest way of life.' I was not living extravagantly, and therefore did not need to put myself forward in politics, and make those gains which meddling politicians like yourself make. See on § 173 for the sort of profits accruing to politicians.

αἰσχρῶς, grammatically belonging to ἐπιθυμῶ, in sense qualifies μειζόνων 'larger gains made dishonestly.'

**βουλευσάμενος** 'after deliberation,' 'when I have made up my mind.'

τῆς ἐν τῇ φύσει δαπάνης 'not under the compulsion of innate extravagance.' ἐν τῇ φύσει is another of Aeschines' compound adjectives, see on § 208 ἐκ παιδείας.

λαβὼν...κέκραγας. See Dem. de Cor. § 82 ὦ βλασφημῶν περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγων ὡς σιωπῶ μὲν λαβὼν, βοῶ δ' ἀναλώσας. Cobet would change σεσίγηκας to σιγᾶς,—'Sciulus nescio quis κέκραγας perfectum esse ratus utrumque verbum exaequavit scilicet.' But the reference to Demosthenes' entire past is perhaps better given by the perfect, while the present sense of κέκραγας is in place at the moment as anticipating the speech so soon to come. Cp. τίς ἡ Κραυγὴ; κ.τ.λ. § 210. One ms. has σιγῆσας.

οἱ μισθοδοταὶ 'your pay-masters,' referring particularly perhaps to the king of Persia, whose gold had been sent to Greece to keep up a party against Alexander, §§ 173, 209, 239; but he means also to repeat the general charge of corruption and venality on which he has been so long harping.

ἃ παραχρήμα for ἐκείνα ἄ. 'But you are not ashamed of making those boasts which are at once convicted of falsehood.' Lit. 'in regard to which you are etc.'

219 ἐνδείξεως, § 216.

οὐπω σοῦ τὸ περὶ Πανσανίαν. Plutarch, Dem. 22 ἔγνω μὲν οὖν κρύφα τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου τελευτὴν ὁ Δημοσθένης, προκαταλαμβάνων δὲ τὸ θαρβεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ μέλλοντα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους προήλθε φαιδρὸς εἰς τὴν βουλὴν ὡς ὄναρ ἑωρακῶς, ἀφ' οὗ τι μέγα προσδοκᾷ Ἀθηναίους ἀγαθόν· καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ παρήσαν οἱ τὸν Φιλίππου θάνατον ἀπαγγέλλοντες. Cp. § 77. Philip was killed in the summer of B.C. 336; the original motion of Ctesiphon, followed immediately by a notice of a γράφῃ παρανόμων, was in B.C. 337.

πρὸς Ἀθηναίῳ...διειλεγμένου. We know nothing of this part of the story, or whether Demosthenes had really professed to have had supernatural communication. Weidner supposes Aeschines to bring in the names of the goddesses merely to heighten the comic effect.

προενεδεικνύμην 'how then can I have been (as he alleges) showing off by anticipation to Alexander?' i.e. because when I gave my notice I did not know of Philip's death. This double compound does not seem to occur elsewhere.

εἰ γὰρ μὴ *nisi forte*, introducing an absurd or impossible proposition: 'unless it had opportunely happened that Demosthenes and I had had the same dream.'

220 καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν...πολιτείας 'and you think that it will not be noticed that, in enunciating this maxim, you are applying a principle borrowed not from democracy but from some other polity.' The maxim is that a man should be forced to speak. Schol. τὸ νομίζειν ἄξιον εἶναι δεῖν ἐξ ἀνάγκης λέγειν καὶ οὕτω πολιτεύεσθαι. The word ἀξίωσις is not used elsewhere by the orators; but cp. Thucyd. ii. 88, 301 οἱ στρατιῶται ἐκ πολλοῦ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀξίωσιν ταύτην εἰλήφεσαν. By ἐτέρας πολιτείας is to be understood oligarchy, in which an official class or caste would do all the business, as opposed to a democracy in which every citizen would have the right to take his part freely and only when he chose.

ὁ βουλόμενος. Demosth. *de Cor.* §§ 170, 189. Aristoph. *Ach.* 45; *Plut.* 917. The inalienable right of every citizen to speak in the assembly, or to bring charges there and in the law courts, is expressed by this phrase, here opposed to ὁ δυναστεύων, the official or man in office in an oligarchy.

διὰ χρόνου 'intermittently,' 'at intervals,' as διαλείπων above.

ἐπὶ τῶν καιρῶν καὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος 'when the hour has come and the interest of the state demands it.' Cp. Dem. in *Aristocr.* § 105 ἐπὶ καιροῦ τινὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπιθεμένου τοῦ Κερσοβλέπτου.

ἐργαζομένου 'of one who makes a trade of it.' Cp. Dem. in *Aristog.* § 82 οὐκοῦν ἐν κρίσεσι καὶ ἀγῶσι καὶ πονηραῖς αἰτίαις ἅπαντας εἶναι βούλεται ταῦτα γεωργεῖ, ταῦτα ἐργάζεται.

221 ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ...ὑποσχεῖν 'and as to his never having been brought to trial by me or subjected to the punishment of his crimes.' Dem. *de Cor.* §§ 12—16; 251. Weidner in his ed. 1878 reads περὶ. For ὑπὲρ see on Demosth. *de Cor.* § 9. κεκρίσθαι 'to have been brought to trial.' Cp. Demosth. *de Cor.* § 15; in *Mid.* § 207.



σαυτὸν παραλογίζει 'you are deceiving yourself.' παραλογίζεσθαι (1) 'to falsify accounts,' 'to make a deliberately false reckoning,' in Dem. *c. Aph.* A § 29 with acc. of the money; in *c. Spoudiam* § 30, (2) 'to deceive,' with acc. of person deceived τοῦς δ' εἰδύτας οὐτοσὶ ἐφενγεν οὐκ ἡγούμενος ἐνείναι παραλογίσασθαι. Cr. 2 § 128, δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι μέγала τὴν πόλιν παραλογίζεται.

τὰ περὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας ἡσεβημένα, §§ 125—127. According to Aeschines the ἀσεβημα was that οὐκ ἐᾷ μέμνησθαι τῶν ὄρκων, οὓς ἡμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι ὤμοσαν, οὐδὲ τῆς ἀρᾶς οὐδὲ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ μαντείας.

τὰ περὶ τὴν Εὐβοίαν. See §§ 85—95; 102—105. Aeschines really fails to answer the taunt that he had never prosecuted Demosthenes. He only says here, as in § 125, that he denounced him (ἐμοῦ φανερώς ἐναντίον ὑμῶν ἐξελέγχοντος); but for one statesman to speak against another in the assembly, however strongly, is a very different thing from impeaching him.

χρόνων ἐγγεγεννημένων ἐν οἷς 'because certain periods of time have elapsed since you were publicly denounced by me.' Demosth. *Pantaen.* § 2, πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰωθότων παρ' αὐτὰ τὰδικήματα μᾶλλον ἢ χρόνων ἐγγεγεννημένων ἀγανακτεῖν. ἐν οἷς (χρόνοις) cp. Eurip. *Hipp.* 375, ἥδη ποτ' ἐν μακρῷ χρόνῳ.

222 ὅτε νομοθετήσας περὶ τῶν τριακοσίων. See Demosth. *de Cor.* § 102. Demosthenes was ἐπιστάτης τοῦ ναυτικοῦ in B.C. 340, and carried a reform of the law as to trierarchies, whereby the members of the symmories contributed according to the value of their rateable property. The 300 are the ἡγεμόνες τῶν ξυμμοριῶν. See *de Cor.* § 171. The law of Demosthenes was against the interests of the rich who were by it compelled to contribute more largely, and who according to him offered him large bribes to amend or drop it (*de Cor.* § 103), and actually did pay Aeschines, he says, to introduce amendments which spoilt it (*de Cor.* § 312). It is no wonder then, as it affected powerful interests, that it should have formed the point of attack to his enemies. Thus Deinarchus (*in Dem.* § 42) asserts that Demosthenes had three talents for introducing various modifications in it (τρία τάλαντα λαβὼν μετέγραφε καὶ μετεσκεύαζε τὸν νόμον καθ' ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν). Greek morality as to money was so loose, that it is impossible to feel certain as to either orator having accepted or refused payment in the course of the controversy. But the law on the whole had acted well, and the present accusation, that Demosthenes had deprived the city of the services of 65 trierarchs, is evidently only a maliciously coloured account of his reforms, which may have lessened the number of trierarchs while distributing the burden more equitably. Grote xi. p. 270. Schaefer ii. p. 492.

**Πόλλιν.** The Athenians under Chabrias defeated a Peloponnesian fleet off Naxos, which, under the command of the Spartan admiral Pollis, was cruising in the Aegean to cut off their corn ships. September B.C. 376. In the battle 18 Athenian ships were disabled. Xen. *Hell.* 5, 4, 61; Diodor. 15, 34—5; Demosth. *in Lept.* § 77; Grote ix. p. 346; Thirlwall v. p. 49. Pollis had been ἐπιστολεὺς, or second in command of the fleet, in B.C. 393, and by him Plato is said to have been sold as a slave in Aegina. [Schol. *περὶ οὗ καὶ ὁ Ἀριστείδης λέγει ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν τεσσάρων ὅτι οὗτος ἐπώλει Πλατῶνα.* Xen. *Hell.* 5, 4, 61; Olymp. *vit. Platon.* 3.] The ruse of concealing their colours, which helped to give the Athenian fleet the victory at Naxos, is related by Polyænus *Strateg.* 3, 11, 11.

**ναυμαχίαν Λακεδαιμονίους ἐνίκησαν.** For construction see § 181.

223 ταῖς αἰτίαις ‘by the charges which you bring.’

**ἐνέφραξας** ‘you barred,’ ‘stopped.’ Properly ‘to fence off,’ ‘to stop up.’ Cp. Lyeurg. p. 165, § 124 ἀπάσας τὰς ὁδοὺς τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἐνέφραξαν.

**τοῖς ἐπεξιούσι** ‘your prosecutors,’ cp. Demosth. *Mid.* 107 (α μαρτυρία) ἐπεξῆμιν τοῦ φόνου τὸν Ἀρίσταρχον. Aeschin. II. § 93, οὐκ ἐπεξιὼν τῇ τοῦ τραύματος γραφῇ.

**πολὺν μὲν...φέρων** ‘frequently bringing in the names of Alexander and Philip into your vituperative speeches.’ § 215. Cp. the use of *multus* Verg. *Aen.* 4, 3.

**τὸ παρὸν λυμαινόμενος** ‘ruining the advantage of the moment, while you make futile promises for the future.’ Simcox seems wrong in translating λυμαινόμενος ‘vilifying,’ cp. Dem. *de Cor.* §§ 303, 312. For **κατεπαγγελόμενος** see § 205. He means that Demosthenes anticipates or discounts the future with large promises which come to nothing.

**τὴν Ἀναξίνου σύλληψιν.** This story is only known from this place, and from Plutarch who seems to have taken it from our orator. Aeschines here says or insinuates that Anaxinus of Oreus was in Athens on the harmless mission of making purchases for Olympias, the mother of Alexander: that Demosthenes entertained him and was believed to have been intriguing with the Macedonian court by his agency; but on being threatened with impeachment by Aeschines he turned on Anaxinus, accused him of being a spy, superintended his torture, and secured his execution. Plutarch *vit. Dem. in X Or.* 848 (where however the mss. give the name as Anaxilus) says [Ἀναξίνου] δὲ τινὰ Ὀρεΐτην ξένον αὐτοῦ γεγονότα συλλαβὼν ἐβάσανιζε ὡς κατὰσκοπον, οὐδὲν δὲ ἐξειπόντα ἐψηφίσατο τοῖς ἑνδεκα

παρδοῦναι. Demosthenes on the other hand (*de Cor.* 137) asserts that Aeschines had corrupt dealings with him; and assumes that he was a spy of Philip's. See Schaefer II. p. 494, who thinks that the execution of Anaxinus shews that there was grave evidence against him; and refers the action of the Athenians to their anxiety at the time as to the destination of the Macedonian fleet. The execution of Anaxinus appears to have taken place in B.C. 342/1. *κατασκευάσας*, § 95.

**Ὀλυμπιάδι.** Olympias, wife of Philip II. and mother of Alexander the Great, was a daughter of Neoptolemus I. king of Epirus. She was married soon after B.C. 359, had two children, Alexander and Cleopatra, and after many violent quarrels with her husband, finally left him in B.C. 337, on his marrying Cleopatra the niece of Attalus, and remained with her brother Alexander, king of Epirus, till Philip's death in B.C. 336. She survived until B.C. 316, when after many vicissitudes she was taken by Cassander and condemned to death by an assembly of Macedonians for numerous acts of violence during the contests which followed the death of her son.

**224 δις στρεβλώσας.** One ms. B has *διαστρεβλώσας* which both Franke and Weidner (1878) adopt. Bekker has *διεστρέβλωσας* ...*γράψας* 'you tortured him after having secured his condemnation to death.' But this would have been a piece of needless cruelty, and almost beyond what exaggerated enmity could safely attribute to Demosthenes. The object of such torture was to extract disclosure from a supposed spy or traitor, see Herod. 8, 110, Themistocles sent to Xerxes *men τοῖσι ἐπίστευε σιγᾶν ἐς πᾶσαν βάσανον ἀπικνεομένοισι*. Still torture as a mere punishment was not unknown in Greece, and became alarmingly frequent in the case of political offenders in a later age. For instances see Polyb. 2, 59; 4, 18; 40, 5 (39, 11). Cp. Mahaffy, *Social Life in Greece*, p. 241; *Greek Life and Thought*, p. 537.

**τῇ σαυτοῦ χειρί.** Simcox supposes that Demosthenes was merely present to take down evidence. Aeschines however charges him with putting his hand to the *τρόχος*.

**παρὰ τῷ αὐτῷ...ποιούμενος** 'and at this same man's house in Oreus you were wont to stay, and you ate and drank and poured libations at the same table with him, and struck your right hand in his—thereby adopting him as a friend and guest.' Eating and drinking and sharing in the libation were always looked upon as involving a certain mutual obligation; especially the last (*σπονδή*) as being a religious rite. Cp. Dem. *de Cor.* § 287, *προσῆκειν ὑπολαμβάνοντες τὸν ἐροῦντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετὴν κοσμήσοντα μὴθ' ὁμώροφον μὴθ' ὁμόσπονδον γεγεννημένον εἶναι τοῖς πρὸς ἐκείνους παρα-*



ταξαμένοις. Herod. 9, 16, ἐπεὶ νῦν ὁμοτράπεζός τέ μοι καὶ ὁμόσπονδος ἐγένεο, μνημόσυνά τοι γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς καταλιπέσθαι ἐθέλω, ἵνα καὶ προειδώς αὐτὸς περὶ σεωυτοῦ βουλευέσθαι ἔχῃς τὰ συμφέροντα. For the ceremony of the libation see Becker's *Charicles* p. 330. Plato, *Sympos.* 176. The appeal to a man πρὸς τῆς δεξιᾶς is common in tragedy, see, for instance, Eurip. *Hipp.* 605, καὶ πρὸς σε τῇσδε δεξιᾶς εὐωλένου. Soph. *Philoct.* 1398, ἃ δ' ἦνεσάς μοι δεξιᾶς ἐμῆς θιγών. For ἐνέβαλες cp. Soph. *Trach.* 1181, ἔμβαλλε χεῖρα δεξιάν πρώτιστά μοι. *Phil.* 813, ἔμβαλλε χεῖρὸς πίστιν. Ἐμβάλλω μενεῖν. The words **ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ ξένον ποιούμενος** are omitted by Weidner, because they look like a gloss or explanation of a custom which would be familiar to the audience. But it is dangerous to emend the orators by cutting out all that seems surplusage. The object is to heighten the enormity of Demosthenes' proceedings, and to do so every detail is dwelt upon at length.

**ξενοκτόνος** 'guest-murderer,' one of the worst of crimes. In Herod. 2, 115 the king of Egypt is represented as saying to Paris περὶ πολλοῦ ἦγῃμαι μὴ ξενοκτονέειν. For guests like suppliants were under the protection of Ζεὺς Ξένιος, see Hom. *Odys.* 9, 270, Ζεὺς ἐπιτιμῆτωρ ἱκετῶν τε ξείνων τε Ξένιος. Artemis directs her shafts εἰς ἀδίκων πόλιν...οἳ τε περὶ ξείνους ἀλιτῆμονα πόλλ' ἐτέλεσκον, Callim. *Hymn* 3, 123.

**ἀπεκρίνου ἐφ' ᾧ** 'you made an answer which called forth a shout of indignation from the people, as well as such foreigners as were standing round the place of assembly.' Foreigners were not admitted within the space marked out by the *περιρραντήρια*, see § 176, but they seem still to have been within earshot of the speakers, and, like the strangers in the gallery of the House of Commons, occasionally to have made themselves heard.

**τῆς πόλεως ἅλας** 'the city's salt,' i.e. my duty to the city whose salt I have eaten, whose bounty I have experienced, and to which therefore I owe the first service. 'To eat a man's salt' is to be his friend and messmate. Aristot. *Eth. Eud.* 7, 2, εἰς παροιμίαν ἐλήλυθεν ὁ μέδιμνος τῶν ἁλῶν. Cicero *de Am.* § 67, *verum illud est quod dicitur multos modios salis simul edendos esse ut amicitiae munus expletum sit.* See also Aesch. 2 § 22. Demosth. *de Fals. Leg.* § 189, ποῦ δ' ἅλας; ποῦ τράπεζα; ποῦ σπονδαί; ταῦτα γὰρ τραγῳδεῖ περιμῶν...ib. § 191, πότεροι οὖν τοὺς ἅλας παρέβαινον καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς, Αἰσχίνῃ;

**225 κατασκόπων συλλήψεις.** We hear of one other such spy, Antiphon, Dem. *de Cor.* § 133, whose release was secured by Aeschines.

**βασάνους**, i.e. on the rack, or *τρόχος*, which seems to have

been the only instrument of torture used, in spite of the various methods enumerated in Aristoph. *Ran.* 618.

ἐπ' αἰτίαις ἀγενήτοις 'on groundless charges.' The word ἀγένητος is of rare occurrence in this sense. L. and Sc. quote Aleiphro 3, 58, διαβολαὶ ἀγένητοι. In Isocr. 397 A, ὧν οὐδὲν διὰ τὸν φεύγοντα τὴν δίκην ἀγένητόν ἐστιν it means 'none of which fatal results are unaccomplished as far as the defendant is concerned,' 'it is not his doing that they did not take place.' In this phrase αἰτίαι must stand for the 'things charged' like the Latin *crimina*.

ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι § 189.

τίς ἂν εἴη...λατρός, Dem. *de Cor.* § 243. It is possible that Demosthenes might in conversation have used this illustration, and that it had been reported to Aeschines, as he says; but it is more likely that it is an after-insertion.

ἐλθὼν εἰς τὰ ἔνατα 'when he came to the funeral.' Dem. I. c. ἐπειδὴ...τὰ νομιζόμενα αὐτῷ φέροιτο. τὰ ἔνατα sc. ἱερὰ, 'the ceremonies on the ninth day,' the last day of the funeral solemnities. Isacus 8 § 39, τὰ ἔνατα ἐπήνεγκα ὥς οἶόν τε κάλλιστα παρασκευάσας. A banquet was given on this day to the friends and relatives, see Plautus *Aul.* 2, 4, 45, *cocus ille nundinalist: in nonum diem solet ire coctum*. Becker's *Charicles* p. 398.

ἃ ἐπιτηδεύσας 'by following what regimen,' 'by what treatment.' This word appears to be used in a medical sense, though I can find no example of it. L. and Sc. quote medical writers as using ἐπιτήδευμα for 'diet.' It may of course be explained in a general sense, 'by what course of conduct.'

226 σαυτὸν δ' οὐκ ἀντερωτᾷς 'but you don't ask yourself in your turn.' ἀντερωτᾶν (1) is to answer a question by putting another, (2) to ask questions in turn.

τίς ἂν εἴη 'what one is to say of a popular statesman that is capable of etc.' For τοιοῦτος ὅστις cp. Lysias 30 § 9, περὶ τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων...οἵτινες τότε συγκαταλύσαντες τὸν δῆμον νυνὶ δημοτικοὶ φασιν εἶναι. Supr. §§ 137, 196.

ἀποδράς ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων § 151.

περιβαλὼν 'after involving in.' § 114. Demosth. *F. L.* § 267, τὸν φανερόν τι ποιῆσαι βουλευθέντα...τηλικαύτη καὶ τοιαύτη συμφορὰ περιβαλεῖν. The metaphor implied in the word is seen in Thucyd. 7, 25, 7, δεινὸν ἦν...μὴ οὐ προιδῶν ὥσπερ περὶ ἔρμα περιβάλλῃ τὴν ναῦν.

ἀγαθὸν πεποιηκώς, sc. τὸν δῆμον. All the clauses depending on ὅστις, though meant to refer definitely to Demosthenes, are

put tentatively and indefinitely, and therefore *μηδὲν* not *οὐδὲν* is used, and the optative mood in the verbs.

*ἐπερωτώ* δὲ ‘but (instead of that) asks the victims of his vexatious attacks, why they didn’t hinder him?’ see on § 217, Demosth. *de Cor.* §§ 196—8.

*συκοφαντηθέντας ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας* ‘harried out of public life by the vexatious accusations of their political opponents.’ See on § 209.

*ἐπ’ ἐκείνων τῶν καιρῶν*, see on § 220.

227 *τῆς μάχης*, Chaeroneia.

*αἰτεῖς...ποιῶν*. Here again the principal idea is conveyed by the participle, not the verb. Aeschines means that it was the dishonour to the country implied by such a demand that induced him at length to act. Cp. § 209.

*ἐνταῦθα* ‘under these circumstances.’

*ἐνέστην* ‘I interposed,’ *intercessi*. Of an obstacle in a water-course Dem. *in Callicl.* § 10 ἥδ’ ἂν ἐνστή τι. In later writers it is used to translate the *intercessio* of the Roman tribunes.

228 *ὦν...ἐφ’ ᾧ...ἀγανακτῶ μάλιστα* ‘of all the allegations which I am told Demosthenes intends to make, that at which I am most annoyed is what I am now about to mention.’ *ὦν* is attracted into the case of an antecedent implied by *ἐφ’ ᾧ* (= *ἐπὶ τούτῳ ᾧ*). The construction of *ἀγανακτεῖν* is (1) absolute, Demosth. *Pantaen.* § 2, *ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων παρ’ αὐτὰ τὰδικήματα μᾶλλον ἢ χρόνων ἐγγεγεννημένων ἀγανακτεῖν*. (2) with accus. Demosth. *Conon* § 15, *οὐχ ἥττον τοῦτ’ ἀγανακτῆσαιμ’ ἂν*. (3) with *ἐπί*, cp. Isaeus 3 § 30, *ἐφ’ ᾧ δὴ καὶ δεινῶς ἀγανακτῶ*. [W. reads *δεῖ* (ἄξιον ed. 1878) *καὶ μάλιστα ἀγανακτεῖν*, the mss. varying between *ἀγανακτῶν* and *ἀγανακτῶ*.]

*ἀφομοιοῖ...Σειρήσιν*. This comparison does not occur anywhere in the writings of Demosthenes. We may suppose that he had used it in conversation which had been reported to Aeschines. The Sirens *λιγυρῇ θέλγουσιν αἰδοῖ, | ἤμεναι ἐν λειμῶνι· πολὺς δ’ ἄμφ’ ὅστεόφιν θίς | ἀνδρῶν πυθομένων*, *Odys.* 12, 44.

*κηλεῖσθαι*, for the Homeric *θέλγειν*. Cp. Plato, *Protag.* 315 A, *ξένοι...οὓς ἄγει ἐξ ἐκάστων τῶν πόλεων ὁ Πρωταγόρας...κηλῶν τῇ φωνῇ ὥσπερ Ὀρφεύς, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν φωνὴν ἔπονται κεκλημένοι*.

*τὴν φύσιν μου* ‘my natural ability,’ while *ἐμπειρία* is skill obtained by practice.



τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ‘such an observation as that.’ Aeschines means to disclaim any special oratorical ability or experience. He is an ordinary citizen whose strength is not in his eloquence, in which he has no professional skill, but in the justice of his cause.

τῆς γὰρ αἰτίας...ἐπιδείξαι ‘for when a man brings a charge and can show no justification of it the shame recoils upon himself.’ τῆς αἰτίας τὸ ἔργον ‘the substantial ground of his charge,’ nearly in the sense in which ἔργον is usually opposed to λόγος. The γὰρ explains οὐδενὶ πρέπειν ‘it is to no man’s honour, it is *αἰσχρόν*.’

229 εἰ δ’ ἦν ἀναγκαῖον Such an observation is indeed wholly unjust as applied to me: but if it was necessary for the good of the State that it should be made, it did not lie with Demosthenes to make it. It should have come from some man of exactly the opposite characteristics: some man who while a good general was a poor speaker: some man who had done great public services, and yet had reason to dread the superior word-fence of his opponent, from a consciousness of inability to put his own services in a proper light. Aeschines has been thought to be referring here to Phocion.

παριστάναι...διώκηκεν ‘to make his hearers realise the nature of his administration.’ Dem. 3 *Phil.* § 28, δοκοῦσιν οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγοντες τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, περὶ ἧς βουλευέσθε, οὐχὶ τὴν οὔσαν παριστάντες ὑμῖν ἀμαρτάνειν.

ἐξ ὀνομάτων συγκείμενος ‘a man made up of words,’ ‘a mere man of phrases.’ Plat. *Phaed.* 98 c, σύγκειται τὸ σῶμα ἐξ ὀστέων καὶ νεύρων. Aeschin. 1 § 105, ἐξ ὧν (τρυφῆς, δειλίας κ.τ.λ.) ἂν ὁ κάκιστος καὶ ἀλυσιτελέστατος πολίτης γένοιτο.

καὶ τούτων...περιέργων ‘and those, too, words of bitterness and elaborate cunning.’ It is not necessarily a fault that an orator’s words should be πικροί, but Aeschines means that a man who has such language always at command cannot claim consideration on the ground of simplicity of character (ἀπλότητα) and of being only able to tell a plain tale (τὰ ἔργα).

οὗ ‘a man who, if you cut out his tongue, what is left is as useless as a flute would be if you cut off its mouthpiece.’ Stob. *Flor.* 4, 69, Δημάδης τοὺς Ἀθηναίους εἵκαζεν αὐλοῖς, ὧν, εἴ τις ἀφέλοι τὴν γλῶτταν, τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδὲν ἔστιν (R.). For ὅς in this sense see Lysias 32 § 20, ὅς ἐτόλμησε *qui potuerit*. There is no need to read οὗ γε with Weidner.

§§ 230—233 The commencement of the EPILOGUE. Why then should you acquit Ctesiphon? Not assuredly on the ground that his proposal is constitutional, or that his cha-

racter places him above punishment. How outrageous that Demosthenes, whose policy has lost you the marks of honour you used to receive from the Greek States, should be the only man crowned at the festival! Besides, his character is such that his honour will be as disgraceful to you as that of Ther-sites would have been to the Greeks: you will be made the scapegoat of Demosthenes' shame. You punish those who give corrupt decisions in law-courts, will you honour a corrupt politician? Unfair awards in games and cyclic choruses are fined, you have more important interests to decide. Each of you, by the possession of a vote, holds an imperial position in a democracy. If you yield this to fear or favour you dethrone yourselves.

### 230 ἀποβλέποντες, § 214.

ἀποψηφίσαισθε τὴν γραφήν 'you should acquit him on this indictment,' ἀποψηφίζεσθαι opp. to καταψηφίζεσθαι. In this sense the verb governs (1) the genitive of the person, Dem. *F. L.* § 212, ὥστε εὐσεβῶς ἔχει ὑμῶν μηδενὶ τούτου ἀποψηφίσασθαι. (2) the accusative of the suit or indictment, as here, cp. [Dem.] *c. Neueram* § 112, μᾶλλον ἐλυσιτέλει μὴ γενέσθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα τουτονὶ ἢ γενόμενον ἀποψηφίσασθαι ὑμᾶς.

ὡς 'on the ground that.'

ἐπιτήδειος, euphemistically for ἀξίος, W. Cp. Demosth. *c. Androt.* § 57, καίτοι εἴ τισιν ἄρα δοκοῦσιν ἐπιτήδεια ἐκείναι (πόρναι) παθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα γε οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον γίγνεσθαι. Aeschines does not dwell on the subject of the consequences to Ctesiphon of losing the case, because, as I conceive, they were not likely to be serious: for though the notice given of the suit technically deprived him of the benefit of the *προθεσμία*, it cannot be supposed that a *γραφὴ παρανόμων* not followed up for six years would involve much beyond a condemnation of the *probouleuma*, which had already by lapse of time become invalid.

οὐκ ἄρ' εἰσὶ παρ' ὑμῖν. εὐθυναὶ βίου 'investigations then into a man's life in your court are practically annulled if you acquit this man.' § 214. εἰσὶ, present, expressing a certain consequence. εὐθυναὶ is used here in a sense slightly different from the ordinary one. He says you hold εὐθυναὶ of a man's conduct in office: if you acquit Ctesiphon it will be as good as saying that you do not take into account a man's life and conduct. Cp. § 17, εἰ μὴ τις εὐνοίας εὐθυνα. Yet from Plat. *Protag.* 326 *v* it appears that the word εὐθυναὶ was used for the 'punishment' of immorality.

ἐκείνο, referring to what follows, §§ 59, 143, 169.

ὁ δῆμος ἐστεφανοῦτο. The custom of presenting crowns

to States was common, and is frequently mentioned in Polybius. In the Byzantine decree (*Dem. de Cor.* § 91) a group of three statues is ordered to be set up, *στεφανούμενον τὸν δᾶμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ὑπὸ τῷ δάμῳ τῷ Βυζαντίῳ καὶ Περινθίῳ*.

ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν *sc.* the day of the new tragedies, § 41.

231 *ἐπεισαγόντων* *sc.* τοὺς χορούς, *cp.* Arist. *Acharn.* 11, ὁ δ' ἀνείπεν· εἰσαγ', ὦ Θεόγνι, τὸν χορόν. The *ἐπ-* refers to the entrance of the chorus *after* the business of the proclamations, *cp.* *ἐπεισιούσιν* § 153 in the same connexion. Cobet wishes *ἐπεισιόντων* here, quoting § 153; but the words seem properly used of the poets and actors respectively.

*ποιήσιεν* 'were to represent.' Plat. *Symp.* 174 B, "Ὅμηρος μὲν γὰρ κινδυνεύει...ποιήσας γὰρ Ἀγαμέμνονα διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα κ.τ.λ.

ὅτι φησὶν "Ὅμηρος. Homer does not use these words, but describes him as *ἀμετροπέης...ὅς ῥ' ἔπεα φρεσὶν ᾗσιν ἄκοσμά τε πολλά τε ᾗδῃ*, | *μάψ, ἀτὰρ οὐ κατὰ κόσμον*. And when he has been beaten by Odysseus *ιδνώθη, θαλερόν δέ οἱ ἔκπεσε δάκρυ...* ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἔξετο *τάρβησέν τε | ἀλγήσας δ', ἀχρεῖον ἰδὼν, ἀπομόρξατο δάκρυ*. Hom. *Il.* 2, 212—214; 266—269. This passage is interesting as an indication of the spirit in which the tragedians were expected to treat the Homeric characters introduced in their plays; and helps to illustrate the point of view from which Aristophanes criticised Euripides as lowering the heroic ideals.

*οὐκ οἴεσθε...συρίττεσθαι* 'don't you suppose that you are so-to-speak hissed off the stage in the thoughts of the Greeks?' *Cp.* *Dem. de Cor.* 260, *σύ ἐξέπιπτες ἐγὼ ἐσύριττον*. [Cobet would read *ἂν οἴεσθε* 'don't you suppose you will be hissed?' But the present is the more vivid.]

*ἀνέτιθεσαν* 'used to attribute to,' 'give the honours of to,' used in a bad sense of 'imputing the blame to' in *Dem. de Cor.* §§ 16, 294. But in a good sense *ib.* § 290, *οὐ τῷ συμβούλῳ τὴν τοῦ κατορθοῦν τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους ἀνέθηκε δύναμιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς*. See also *infr.* § 237.

232 *καὶ φατὲ μὲν εὐτυχεῖς εἶναι*, *cp.* *Dem. de Cor.* § 253, *ἀε F. L.* §§ 286—290, where the good fortune of Athens is illustrated by a long quotation from Solon. *Cp.* also Aristoph. *Nub.* 587, *φασὶ γὰρ δυσβουλίαν τῇδε τῇ πόλει προσεῖναι, ταῦτα μέντοι τοὺς θεοὺς ἄττ' ἂν ὑμεῖς ἐξαμάρτητ' ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον τρέπειν*.

*καλῶς ποιῶντες* 'happily.' *Cp.* Demosth. *de Cor.* 231; *Lept.* § 110. Polyb. 28, 9, 7, *νῦν δὲ καλῶς ποιῶν οὐκ ἦλθε ταύτην τὴν ὁδόν, δι' ἧς ἡ κρατήσας τῶν ὅλων ἐξουσίαν ὑπερήφανον ἔσχεν ἢ σφαλεῖς κ.τ.λ.* Bremi thinks that there is often a *lenis ironia*



implied in the phrase. There seems to be such in εὖ ποιῶν Lysias 24 § 14.

ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης ἐγκαταλείφθαι. Yes, answers Demosthenes *de Cor.* § 207, but if you condemn me people will not say that you were *unfortunate* in your disasters, but that you made a *mistake* when you trusted me.

ἀτιμοῦτε ‘do you disfranchise?’ The present of what frequently occurs: § 192.

τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Διονυσίων ‘the judges at the Dionysian festival.’

τοὺς κυκλίους χοροὺς ‘the cyclic choruses’ danced and sang dithyrambic poetry, as opposed to dramatic. These performances were a development of the wild Comus or Bacchic revel, and still appear to have retained much of their original character; for they were sometimes at least performed by bands of revellers parading the streets (*Arist. Ran.* 366). Of the literature which grew out of this custom we have no complete specimen except the Epinician Odes of Pindar. *Suidas* s. v. *Arist. Nub.* 333, 966. *Callim. fr.* 279. *Donaldson, Theatre of the Greeks*, p. 35 sqq. The Schol. explains ἐν οἷς εἰσι στροφαί, ἀντιστροφαί καὶ ἐπωδαί. Schol. on *Arist. Nub.* 333, οἱ λυρικοὶ ποιηταὶ χοροῖς καὶ αὐλοῖς καὶ λύραις τὰ ποιήματα ᾄδον.

δλίγοις...τῷ διαπραξαμένῳ, cp. § 179.

233 ἔπειτα ‘when he has done that.’

αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ. Some mss. have τὴν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ, which Weidner prints. Cp. *Soph. Aj.* 1132, [*Plat.*] *Alcib.* II. 144 c.

συμπαρακολουθῶν ‘haunting him.’ Cp. § 157.

δι’ αὐτὸν γὰρ οἶμαι γέγονε τὸ ἀμάρτημα. Weidner follows Blake in omitting these words, which look like a tentative explanation of some commentator. If they stand they must mean ‘for owing to it (the oath), I presume, was the sin,’ i.e. his action was a sin because it was perjury. But this is a very unsatisfactory and forced translation; and the words are better away.

πρὸς ὃν [for πρὸς τοῦτον, ᾧ] belongs to ἄδηνλος γεγέννηται ‘the favour has been concealed as far as the person is concerned to whom he was granting it.’

ἡ γὰρ ψῆφος ἀφανὴς φέρεται, these words are omitted by Bake and Weidner as a gloss. They form certainly rather a lame conclusion to the sentence; and yet it seems scarcely safe to strike them out in defiance of all mss. For ψῆφος φέρεται see § 198.

§§ 234—235 To me it appears that our folly has had its advantage as well as its danger. Its danger is the surrendering the securities of democracy into the hands of a clique; its advantage the getting rid of factious orators,—such as were some of those who developed into the Thirty, whose cruelties you remember. Keep statesmen, then, well subordinate to the law: if men once feel superior to the law-courts, the next step is the subversion of the constitution.

234 εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν οὐ σωφρονούντες ‘by our want of prudence in regard to the conduct of the state.’ The points referred to by κατορθοῦν and παρακινδυνεύειν are then explained in inverse order (Chiasmus) by ὅτι μὲν...ὅτι δέ.

ἐπὶ τῶν νῦν καιρῶν, see § 220.

τοῖς ὀλίγοις. No formal change in the Athenian constitution appears to have been made in the period following the battle of Chaeroneia; but Demosthenes ceased to a very great extent to take a leading part in politics soon afterwards; and no doubt the triumph of the Macedonian party meant the suppression of the popular leaders and the practical restriction of debate.

τὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἰσχυρὰ ‘the mainstays of democracy,’ especially the γραφὴ παρανόμων, see §§ 191—196.

φορὰ...ῥητόρων ‘a crop of orators at once ill-disposed and shameless.’ Cp. Demosth. *de Cor.* 61, φορὰ προδοτῶν. § 271, φορὰ πραγμάτων.

τὸ δημόσιον ‘the state,’ cp. Lysias 5 § 4 though it there may mean ‘the treasury,’ which is the more usual signification of it.

τοιαύτας...αἱ. For this pregnant use of the relative after τοιοῦτος see § 137. Cp. Demosth. *de Cor.* 263, τοιαύτην εἴλου πολιτείαν...δι’ ἣν εὐτυχούσης τῆς πατρίδος λαγὼ βίον ἔξης... Lysias 7 § 40, τοιούτους δὲ ἐπιτέμπουσί μοι, οἷς ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἂν δικαίως πιστεύετε. id. 13 § 5, ἔπραξε γὰρ οὗτος τοιαῦτα δι’ ἃ νυνὶ εἰκότως μισεῖται. It is not equivalent to οἷος, but introduces a result which actually happened, while explaining the causes. [For κατέλυσαν W. reads κατεκλήλησαν.]

οὕτω, as we know they did. He is referring to the party of innovators who gradually made the usurpation of the Thirty possible.

ἔχαιρε γὰρ κολακευόμενος. For the susceptibility of the Demos to flattery cp. Arist. *Ach.* 636:

μήθ’ ἥδεσθαι θωπευομένους μήτ’ εἶναι χαννοπολίτας...

εἰ δέ τις ὑμᾶς ὑποθωπεύσας λιπαρὰς καλέσειεν Ἀθήνας,

εὖρετο πᾶν ἂν διὰ τὰς λιπαράς.

Cp. *Eq.* 47 sqq.

235 καὶ αὐτοὶ...τριάκοντα 'some of them were actually themselves among the Thirty.' He may refer especially to Theramenes, who at one time at any rate was a popular favourite. Lysias 12 § 68. [W. omits αὐτοὶ, but it is needed to mark the distinction between the party whose politics led up to the 30, and the actual members of that body.]

πλείους ἢ χίλιους καὶ πεντακοσίους. The Thirty held the government for about 8 months (March to November B.C. 404), and in that time, says the herald of the Mystae, killed more than the Spartans had in ten years, Xen. *Hellen.* 2, 3, 15—21; 2, 4, 21, cp. Diodor. xiv. 4. For their massacre at Eleusis see Xen. *Hell.* 2, 4, 9.

ἀκρίτους. For the new law under the Thirty allowed them to put to death without trial all who were not on the roll of the 3000 privileged citizens. Xenoph. *Hell.* 2, 3, 51, ἔστι δ' ἐν τοῖς καινοῖς νόμοις τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς τρισχιλίοις ὄντων μηδένα ἀποθνήσκειν ἄνευ τῆς ὑμετέρας ψήφου, τῶν δ' ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου κυρίου εἶναι τοὺς τριάκοντα θανατοῦν. Isocr. 7 § 67. Lys. 12 § 17.

οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς...παραγενέσθαι. Cp. Lysias 12 § 87, διὰ δὲ Ἐρατοσθένην καὶ τοὺς συνάρχοντας αὐτοῦ δεινὸν ἦν καὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐπ' ἐκφοράν ἐλθεῖν. ib. § 96, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τέκνων καὶ γονέων καὶ γυναικῶν ἀφέλκοντες φονέας αὐτῶν ἠνάγκασαν γενέσθαι καὶ οὐδὲ ταφῆς τῆς νομιζομένης εἶασαν τυχεῖν. This was the last degree of cruelty. See Becker's *Charicles*, pp. 383—4. [Cobet would strike out καὶ ἐκφοράς. But ταφαί are 'funeral ceremonies' generally, ἐκφοραὶ a particular part of them; and the passage in Lysias suggests that, being the most public part, it was the most dangerous in this case.]

οὐ ταπεινώσαντες ἀποπέμψετε...ἐπηρμένους 'will you not dismiss these men in humiliation who are now so exultant?' The emphatic word is the participle ταπεινώσαντες 'humiliate' and so dismiss them, cp. § 227, and ἀποπέμψετε is the analogue of ἀπαλλάττειν. W. however in his ed. of 1878 reads ἀποπέμψετε here, as he had previously done in § 253 [following Usener in his note on Eurip. *Hec.* 72, ὦ ποτνία Χθῶν, ἀποπέμπομαι ἔννυχον ὄψιν], and translates it 'dismiss with execration.'

ἐπέθετο 'attempted,' cp. Herod. 1, 1, ναυτιλίῃσι μακρῇσι ἐπιθέσθαι.

πρὶν ἂν μείζον τῶν δικαστηρίων ἰσχύσῃ 'until he had raised himself to a superiority over the courts of law.' Till he was able to despise them. Cp. Cic. 2 *Phil.* § 115, *judicia non metuis: si propter innocentiam, laudo; sin propter vim, non intelligis qui isto modo non timeat, ei quid timendum est?*



§§ 236—240 Besides—legal or illegal—what are the real grounds for thus rewarding Demosthenes? (See *Dem. de Cor.* 297.) His mighty services about the fortifications were stained by sacrilege; and the Theban alliance, of which he boasts, was the result of circumstances, not of his diplomacy; just as was the change of tone in the king of Persia.

236 ἡδέως δ' ἄν—ὁμολογησαίμην 'I should be glad to come to some understanding.' Cp. Plato, *Rep.* iv. p. 436, εἴ τι ποῖνυν ἀκριβέστερον ὁμολογησώμεθα 'let us come to a more accurate understanding with each other.' The reading of A is ἀναλογισαίμην which Weidner and Simcox adopt.

λέγεις sc. Ctesiphon.

ὅθεν τὴν ἀρχὴν...ἐποιήσω 'the assertion with which you began your decree,' or 'which you made in the preamble of your decree.'

τὰς τάφρους the trenches made for defending Athens after Chaeroneia, when Demosthenes was a commissioner of the walls (τειχοποιούς) § 17. *Dem. de Cor.* §§ 113, 299.

τοῦ γὰρ ταῦτ'...ἔχει 'for the fact that he was the cause of these measures of precaution being necessary is more damning than the excellence of their construction is praiseworthy.' Lit. 'his being the cause involves a heavier charge than their excellent construction.'

οὐδὲ τὰς δημοσίας ταφὰς ἀνελόντα 'nor for having obliterated the funeral honours publicly bestowed.' This seems the best sense to be given to these words if they are to stand. Cobet rejects ταφὰς for tombs (though see Herod. 5, 63), and insists that τοὺς τάφους ought to be read, and Weidner, who also omits δημοσίας, follows him. On the other hand ἀνελόντα is not quite the natural word to be used in this latter case; and it is conceivable, and somewhat after his manner, that Aeschines, wishing to say that Demosthenes had removed certain tombs, should express it by saying that he had 'abolished' or 'rendered nugatory public funeral ceremonies.' So ῥήμασι ἀναιρεῖν νόμον § 202. These tombs were mostly in the Ceramicus. The editors all quote Lycurg. c. *Leocr.* § 41, κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους οὐκ ἔστιν ἦτις ἡλικία οὐ παρέσχετο ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὴν τῆς πόλεως σωτηρίαν, ὅθ' ἡ μὲν χώρα τὰ δένδρα συνεβάλλετο, οἱ δὲ τετελευτηκότες τὰς θήκας, οἱ δὲ νεῷ τὰ ὄπλα. It may mean only that Demosthenes had to remove some tombs in making his τάφρος, or that he used some of the tombs for building materials, as Simcox points out was done before. Thucyd. 1, 93.

237 ἀφελὼν τὴν ἀλαζονείαν, cp. § 101.

ἄψαι τῶν ἔργων, cp. § 193.

Ἀμφισσέας, §§ 114, 125 sqq. Εὐβοέας, § 85 sqq. τῆς πρὸς Θηβαίους συμμαχίας, § 84, *Dem. de Cor.* 178.

ἀνατιθῆς, in a good sense 'you give the credit of,' cp. §§ 231, 332.

ἀφελών...τούτων 'when you omit to mention the nature of the crisis and the high reputation of these your countrymen.' In pretending that the Theban alliance was owing to Demosthenes you derogate from the honour of Athens; for that alliance, so far as it was not wholly the result of the circumstances of the hour, was a tribute to her high character. See on § 137.

τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα 'the prestige properly belonging to the city.' *Dem. de Cor.* § 149, τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα λαβών. περιτιθείς, § 231.

**238** κατέπεμψε 'sent down from Asia.'

ἀπαιδύτως 'coarsely,' 'vulgarly,' without the παιδεία of § 117, 170 and 260.

οὐ γὰρ λήψεσθε. Simcox appositely quotes Aristoph. *Ach.* 104 for this abrupt message from the King, οὐ λῆψι χρῦσο, χαυνόπρωκτ' Ἴαοναῦ. For these dealings with Persia see Grote, xi. p. 347.

**239** τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων κινδύνων. Alexander was at this time in Media. The death of Darius appears not to have been yet known at Athens. § 132.

ὁ δὲ κομίζων...καιρὸς. Cp. § 141.

τὰ δ' ἐβδομήκοντα τάλαντα. Grote says 'it is noway proved that Demosthenes applied the money to his own private purposes.' This is the βασιλικὸν χρυσίον of which we have heard more than once before, § 173, 209. Justin 12, 2, 7. The Scholiast says that Demosthenes refused to refund it to the agents of Darius, saying, ταῦτα ἐμοὶ ἔπεμψαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ συμβουλευέσθαι· εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐπείσθησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐμέ. Schaefer 3, 145.

ἀπεστέρησας 'you embezzled,' used thus technically without any word for the person deprived. Cp. *Dem. Mid.* § 44, εἰάν τις ἐκὼν παρ' ἐκόντος λάβῃ τάλαντον ἐν ἧ δύο ἢ δέκα, καὶ ταῦτ' ἀποστερήσῃ.

**240** οὐ δι' ἔνδειαν...παρέδοσαν 'was it not through want of money, for the sake in fact of five talents, that the foreign garrison refused to surrender the citadel of Thebes?' The accusation against Demosthenes is stated more fully by Deinarch. §§ 18—20. He asserts that Demosthenes had received thirty

talents from the king of Persia to support the resistance to Alexander (in B.C. 335) and yet refused to advance the five talents for which the Macedonian garrison were willing to surrender the Kadmeia, besieged by the Theban citizens, who, encouraged by the reported death of Alexander, had declared their severance from Macedonia; or the ten talents demanded by Astylos the commander of an Arcadian force, that he should refuse to serve Alexander and go to the relief of Thebes; although the Arcadian force had advanced as far as the Isthmus on their way, and had actually sent back the envoy of Antipater, who urged them to declare on the Macedonian side. The truth of this charge is strongly refuted by the fact that the conduct of Demosthenes in the Peloponnesian war was named among other things, some years afterwards, as the ground for a grant of special honours. See Grote xi. pp. 358—360. Schaefer iii. p. 110 who accuses Aeschines here of downright lying.

ἡ πρᾶξις οὐ γεγένηται. The question is introduced by the first οὐ (=nonne?), this second οὐ belongs closely to γεγένηται 'and for the lack of ten talents (which Demosthenes refused to pay)...has not the whole transaction proved a failure?' The πρᾶξις is the negotiation with the Peloponnesians. The perfect is only to be justified by the plea that Aeschines is regarding the existing state of things as the direct consequence of this alleged stinginess or dishonesty of Demosthenes.

χορηγεῖς 'pamper,' 'minister.' Cp. 1, 54, εἰλήσεται χορηγὸν τῇ βδελυρίᾳ τῇ ἐαυτοῦ.

καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον 'and crown and sum up all,' §§ 104, 126, 173.

§§ 241, 242 As to calling on Demosthenes to speak,—what could be more nauseous than to hear him sing his own praises? You had better conduct your own defence, Ctesiphon. You cannot plead inexperience; for you have undertaken only lately a foreign mission requiring skilful oratory.

241 τὴν ἀπαιδευσίαν αὐτῶν 'their want of taste.' Cp. ἀπαιδεύτως § 238. See §§ 117, 154, 260.

ἐγκωμιάσει. Two mss. have ἐγκωμιάζει and hence Cobet and Weidner read ἐγκωμιάζειν, understanding πολμήσει. Cobet further says that the future of ἐγκωμιάζω is -άσομαι not -ασω, see Aesch. 1, 133. But Veitch quotes other instances of the active form. If Ctesiphon ventured to call Demosthenes, Aeschines assumes as a matter of course that he will praise himself, and this is better expressed by the future verb than by an infinitive depending on πολμήσει.

τοὺς καθ' ἐαυτῶν ἐπαίνους. See on § 50. Dem. de Cor. § 215.



ὅταν δὲ 'surely when'; for δὲ in apodosis see Goodw. § 274, Madv. § 188, R. 6.

242 πρῶην 'only the other day,' some time in the spring of the year.

ὡς Κλεοπάτραν... Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῇ 'you allowed yourself to be elected as envoy to Cleopatra, Philip's daughter, to condole with her on the death of Alexander, king of the Molossians.'

Alexander was a brother of Olympias, queen of Philip and mother of Alexander the Great. Philip first put into his hands certain cities in Ambracia [Dem. *Halon.* § 32]; and on the death of Arymbas, king of the Molossi, B.C. 348, he was by Philip's influence raised to the throne, to the exclusion of Arymbas' son Aeacides, father of Pyrrhus [Diodor. 16, 72]. When Olympias was divorced by Philip she took refuge at her brother's court, and endeavoured to persuade him to make war against her husband. He refused, and received as his reward his own niece, Philip's daughter Cleopatra, in marriage. It was at the celebration of this marriage (B.C. 336) that Philip was assassinated [Diodor. 16, 91—4]. About 332/1 B.C. Alexander accepted an invitation from the Tarentines to aid them against the Bruttii. Like his future successor on the Epirote throne, Pyrrhus, he gladly seized the opportunity of interfering in Italy; and had some dream of a Western Empire, which was to be on a par with the Eastern Empire of his nephew and great namesake. He had some success at first, and even made a treaty with Rome, but finally was defeated and killed in a battle near Pandosia (near Consentia in Bruttium) by the Bruttii and Lucani [Justin 12, 2]. See also Strabo 6, 256, 280; Justin 8, 6, 5; 7, 6, 1; 9, 7, 5—7; 18, 1, 2; 23, 1, 15. This mention of Ctesiphon's mission of condolence to Cleopatra seems dragged in for the sake of a sneer at this ante-Macedonian going on a complimentary embassy to a Macedonian princess.

μισθοῦ 'for pay,' insinuating that Ctesiphon had not brought forward his motion in honour of Demosthenes from his own conviction, but as the hired advocate of a party or perhaps of Demosthenes himself.

§§ 243—246 Perhaps you think your man is one whose merits will not be recognised without special advocacy. Yet no one is in the dark as to the reasons for honouring Chabrias, or Iphicrates, or Timotheus. The fact is, so far from having merited a crown, Demosthenes deserves exclusion from his country, on the same principle as that on which we throw over the frontier the lifeless instruments which have killed a man. And above all he ought to be punished for the sake of setting a good example to the young.

243 Χαβρίαν καὶ Ἰφικράτην καὶ Τιμόθεον. The chief names among the Athenian soldiers of the post-restoration period. IPHICRATES was a man of low birth, his father Timotheus being a shoemaker, who raised himself to a position of great power and influence by military ability. He is first heard of at the battle of Cnidus (B.C. 394), where his gallantry secured him the command of the Athenian troops sent into Boeotia in the same year; and again at Corinth in B.C. 393. In the course of the latter campaign he introduced his celebrated improvement in the army, by forming a corps of light-armed troops (*πελτασται*) which proved very effective; and in the course of B.C. 392 cut to pieces a Spartan Mora which was on the march to Lechaeum. From B.C. 387 to 377 he seems to have been engaged in a semi-private capacity in the wars continually going on in Thrace; where he married a daughter of Cotys, who became king of Thrace in B.C. 382, and was allowed by him to build a town (*Δρὺς*) for himself. From B.C. 377 to 374 he commanded Athenian troops in Egypt; and in B.C. 373—1 with Chabrias and Callistratus conducted a war in Corecyra against Mnasippus. In B.C. 369 he commanded the Athenian contingent sent to aid Sparta against the invasion of Epaminondas, without effecting much. In B.C. 367 he was sent against Amphipolis with a small force, but seems to have given most of his energies to interfering in Macedonia, to drive out the pretender Pausanias. He was one of the four commanders in the Social War [B.C. 357—355] after the death of Chabrias; for his conduct in which he was prosecuted by his colleague Chares, but acquitted. He died sometime before B.C. 348. Xen. *Hell.* 4, 4, 6—12, 14—17; 4, 5, 8; 4, 8, 34; 6, 2, 3; Diodor. xiv. 91—2, xv. 29—47, xvi. 57. Nepos, *vit. Iph.*

CHABRIAS succeeded Iphicrates about B.C. 392 in the command of the Athenian army at Corinth; he next defeated the Spartans in Aegina (B.C. 388), and went to assist Evagoras in Cyprus: in B.C. 378 was one of three commanders against Agesilaus in Boeotia, and in 377 B.C. served in Egypt against the Persians. Recalled from Egypt he commanded the Athenian fleet at Naxos (B.C. 376) and defeated the Spartans in a sea-fight. This made him specially famous at Athens, as it was the first victory the Athenians had gained at sea since the Peloponnesian war. He was successively in command at Corecyra (B.C. 373) and in the Peloponnesus against Epaminondas (B.C. 368). Later on, like Iphicrates, he served in the mercenary army of a foreign sovereign, Tachos king of Egypt (B.C. 361). Returning home he was sent to Thrace (B.C. 358) to command the fleet in the Social War at Chios (B.C. 357), where he perished in a gallant but rash run into the harbour. Xen. *Hellen.* 5, 1, 10; 5, 4, 34; 7, 1, 15—19;

Diod. xv. 32—35, 68—9; Nepos, *Vit. Chabr.*; Demosth. *Lept.* 479. In the campaign of B.C. 378 he invented the change in tactic, whereby the hoplite was taught to receive a charge kneeling on one knee, with his shield resting against the other, and his spear stretched out before him; and accordingly he was honoured at Athens with a statue in that position.

TIMOTHEUS, son of the famous Conon, first became a strategus as colleague of Chabrias and Callistratus in the war of B.C. 378 against Agesilaus. In B.C. 375 he commanded a fleet which cruised round the Peloponnese doing damage to the Spartans and their allies, whom he finally defeated on the Acarnanian coast, and thereby gained complete mastery of the sea. In B.C. 372 he served the Persian king against Egypt: but in B.C. 367 was again serving the Athenians, into whose power he reduced the important island of Samos. In 364 B.C. he succeeded Iphicrates in the command at Amphipolis and the neighbourhood, where he was extraordinarily successful: took Potidaea and Torone, and all the other Chalcidian towns; and relieved Cyzicus which was being besieged by the Persians. He failed however to take Amphipolis, but made a successful attack upon Cotys king of Thrace and gathered immense booty. In B.C. 358 he induced the Athenians to oppose the Theban occupation of Euboea; and in B.C. 356 was joint commander of the Athenian fleet in the Social War; but in B.C. 354 was accused of receiving bribes by his colleague Chares and fined 100 talents. Being unable to pay he retired to Chalcis, where he soon afterwards died. Xen. *Hell.* 6, 2, 11—13; Diodor. xv. 47. Isocrat. xv. *περὶ ἀντιδόσεως*. Nepos *vit. Timoth.* Isocrates (xv. 107—13) says that he took twenty-four cities, more than any other commander had ever done.

**πυθοῦ.** Schol. *περισπῶσιν Ἀττικοὶ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ λαβοῦ καὶ ἔροῦ καὶ τὰ ὅμοια.*

**τὰς εἰκόνας.** The statue of TIMOTHEUS stood with one of his father Conon and of Evagoras king of Cyprus near the *στοὰ βασιλείας* (Pausan. 1, 3, 2). The bronze statue of CHABRIAS in a kneeling posture is referred to in Arist. *Rhet.* 3, 10, who quotes a sentence from Leucoleon's defence of him, οὐδὲ τὴν ἱκετηρίαν αἰσχυρθέντες αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν χαλκὴν, cp. Nepos, ch. i., *hoc usque eo tota Graecia fama celebratum est ut illo statu* (i.e. kneeling) *Chabrias sibi statuam fieri voluerit, quae publice ei ab Atheniensibus in foro constituta est.* His tomb in the Ceramicus was close to that of Pericles (Paus. 1, 29, 3). The statue of IPHICRATES was at the entrance of the Parthenon (Pausan. 1, 24, 7).

**περὶ Νάξον ... μόραν ... περίπλουν.** See notes above on Chabrias, Iphicrates and Timotheus. Cp. [Demosth.] xiii. § 22.



**μόρα Λακεδαιμονίων.** The *μόρα* was a division of the whole of the Spartan full citizens of military age [Harpocr. s. v. *μόρων*]. According to Müller, *Dorians*, vol. 2, p. 248, there were six such divisions. Xenoph. *Rep. Lac.* 2, 4, *Hieron* 9, 5. *Hell.* 6, 1, 1; 4, 17. Diodor. xv. 32.

**ἐκάστω...πέπρακται.** Dative of agent with perfect passive. See on Dem. *de Cor.* §§ 53, 140.

**244 τάξιν ἔλιπε.** See § 152.

**καὶ πότερον...τελευτήσαντας.** 'And, if you do this, will you be honouring Demosthenes, or dishonouring yourselves and those who died for you in the battle?' **τῇ μάχῃ** sc. Chacroneia.

**σχετλιάζοντας** 'expressing grief and indignation.' Cf. § 254. Demosth. in *Phorm.* § 19, ἀγανακτοῦντος δέ μου καὶ σχετλιάζοντος...ἐπὶ τῇ τολμῇ τοῦ Λάμπιδος.

**εἰ τὰ ξύλα...ὑπερορίζομεν.** This was a law of Draco's, Pausan. 6, 11, 2, Δράκων Ἀθηναίους θεσμοὺς γράψας φονικοὺς ὑπερώρισε καὶ τὰ ἄψυχα εἴ γε ἐμπεσόν τι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνειεν ἄνθρωπον. Plato, *Legg.* 873 F, ἐὰν δὲ ἄψυχόν τι ψυχῆς ἄνθρωπον στερήσῃ πλὴν ὅσα κεραυνὸς ἢ τι παρὰ θεοῦ τοιοῦτον βέλος ἴδῃ, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὅσα τινὸς προσπεσόντος ἢ αὐτὸ ἐμπεσὼν κτείνῃ τινὰ...τὸ δὲ ὄφλον ἐξορίζειν. The laws of Draco were repealed by Solon πλὴν τῶν φονικῶν (Plut. *Sol.* 17) and in such cases the old customs seem to have been religiously maintained.

**ἀγνώμονα** 'senseless.'

**ἐάν τις αὐτὸν διαχρήσῃται.** This regulation as to suicides, that their right hands should be cut off and buried apart, is not mentioned elsewhere in classical Greek. It will be observed that burial is not denied to them, as to murderers, though Plato (*Legg.* 873 D) thinks that their graves should be without monument and their burial lonely and private. In Plutarch, *Thest.* 22, a place is mentioned where οἱ δῆμιοι καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ τοὺς βρόχους τῶν ἀπαγχομένων καὶ καθαιρεθέντων ἐκφέρουσι. In Josephus, *B. J.* 3, 8, 5, the regulation seems to be attributed to Solon παρὰ τῷ σοφωτάτῳ κολάζεται νομοθέτῃ... παρ' ἐτέροις δὲ καὶ τὰς δεξιὰς τοιούτων τῶν νεκρῶν ἀποκόπτειν ἐκέλευσαν αἱ ἐπεστρατεύσαντο καθ' ἐαυτῶν ἡγούμενοι, καθάπερ τὸ σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς ἀλλότριον οὕτω καὶ τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ σώματος. The popular sentiment as to suicide however was that it might be, and often was, more honourable than to cling to life in desperate circumstances of dishonour. See § 212, and Polybius' remarks on the conduct of the anti-Roman statesmen in B.C. 167 (30, 8). The Stoics indeed held that without the right of suicide a man could not be wholly independent (Zeller, *Stoics*, p. 316), and though Plato (*Phaedo*, c. 6; *Apolog.* c. 17) taught that suicide

was equivalent to a desertion of a post in which the gods had placed men as soldiers, yet in the Laws he extends the regulation as to shameful burial only to one who kills himself without sufficient cause, who μήτε περιωδύνῃ ἀφύκτῳ προσπεσούσῃ τύχῃ ἀναγκασθεῖς, μήτε αἰσχύνῃς τινὸς ἀπόρου καὶ ἀβίου μεταλαχών, ἀργία δὲ καὶ ἀνανδρίας δελία ἐαυτῷ δίκην ἄδικον ἐπιθῇ.

245 τὸν γράψαντα...ἔξοδον 'who proposed our final military expedition,' that namely which terminated with the battle of Chaeroneia. πανυστάτην implies also the sense of 'fatal,' 'disastrous,' as well as 'last.' Weidner quotes Soph. *Aj.* 858; *Tr.* 874. What purports to be the decree of Demosthenes is given in the *de Cor.* §§ 181—187. He calls it ἡ ἔξοδος § 178.

προδόντα, § 146.

ἐπιλείπουσαν *evanescentem* 'fading away,' used more than once of water in a well drying up and disappearing. Demosth. *Symm.* § 30; *in Polycl.* § 61.

ἐὰν ἐπερωτῶσιν. Weidner with one ms. omits ἐάν. Much the same argument is used in 1 § 186.

πρὸς ποῖον...ποιεῖσθαι 'on what model they ought to frame their way of life,' cp. Plato, *Protag.* 326 D, ἡ πόλις τοὺς τε νόμους ἀναγκάζει μαθάνειν καὶ κατὰ τούτους ζῆν κατὰ παράδειγμα. Isocr. *ad Demonic.* § 11, δείγμα τῆς Ἰππονίκου φύσεως νῦν ἐξενηνόχameν πρὸς ὃν δεῖ ζῆν σε ὥσπερ πρὸς παράδειγμα.

τί κρινεῖτε; 'what will be your decision?' Weidner with one ms. omits the words. They cannot mean simply 'What answer will you give?' But, as the decision come to by the judges will be the best reply to such a question, it amounts almost to this.

246 οὐχ αἱ παλαιῖστραι οὐδὲ τὰ διδασκαλεῖα οὐδ' ἡ μουσική. The three branches of education of an Athenian boy, γραμματική, μουσική, γυμναστική. See Plato, *Protag.* 325 E γράμματα καὶ κιθάρισις are the first, and in them is included the learning by heart and reading ποιητῶν ἀγαθῶν ποιήματα ἐν οἷς πολλὰ μὲν νουθετήσεις ἔνεισι, πολλὰ δὲ διέξοδοι καὶ ἔπαινοι καὶ ἐγκώμια παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἵνα ὁ παῖς ζηλῶν μιμῆται καὶ ὀρέγεται τοιοῦτος γενέσθαι. After this the boys are sent εἰς παιδοτρίβον, ἵνα τὰ σώματα βελτίῳ ἔχοντες ὑπηρετῶσι τῇ διανοίᾳ χρηστῇ οὔσῃ.

τὰ δημόσια κηρύγματα 'the proclamations of public honours'—answering to the influence of the νόμοι in the passage quoted from Plato *Protagoras*. One ms. has δίκαια, and Weidner omits the word κηρύγματα altogether.

ἀσχημονῶν τῷ βίῳ 'living in a disgraceful manner.' Cp. 2,

151. Demosth. in Andr. 53, ἢ ἄλλα ἀσχημονοίη ἃ δούλων οὐκ ἐλευθέρων ἐστὶν ἔργα.

διεφθάρη 'is corrupted,' a gnomic Aorist. [W. writes διέφθαρται to bring it into harmony with πεπαίδευνται, but the differences of the tenses in the protases κηρύττεται...δέδωκε account for the change.]

ὁ δὲ νεώτερος...οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι...ὁ δὲ εἰκότως, for the δὲ in apodosis cp. § 241.

τὰναντία τις...υἷόν 'supposing a man goes home and tries to school his son, after having given a decision against right and justice.'

ἐνταῦθα 'in such circumstances.' Cp. Herod. 6, 32, ἐνθαῦτα Περσέων οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσαντο τὰς ἀπειλάς. [W. omits the word.]

ἐνοχλεῖν ἤδη...ὀνομάζεται 'admonition in these circumstances is called, and indeed with justice, a mere impertinence.' For ἤδη marking an emphatic climax see §§ 145, 147.

§§ 247—249 Final Appeal to the Jurors. Remember that all eyes are upon you: that the character of the State depends on that of the men she delights to honour. Beware then of men who falsely assume the character of patriots: demand proofs from everyone who claims rewards for good service.

247 ὥς οὖν μὴ μόνον κρίνοντες ἀλλὰ καὶ θεωρούμενοι 'as being then not merely engaged in delivering a verdict, but as subjects also of public observation,' 'the observed of all observers' (Edgar). Cp. Demosth. de Cor. 315, πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἐμαντοῦ κρίνωμαι καὶ θεωρῶμαι; [But Weidner reads θεωροῦντες, supposing the object of it to have been lost, and that correctors of the mss. changed it to θεωρούμενοι to fill up the gap from a reference to this passage of Demosthenes.]

εἰς ἀπολογισμὸν 'with a view to justifying yourselves,' lit. 'to be able to give an account to.' A rare word, not = ἀπολογία, but derived from the idea of making up accounts [cp. λογίζομαι, λογισμός § 59], Polyb. 10, 11, 5, οὐχ ἑτέροις τισὶ χρώμενος ἀπολογισμοῖς ἀλλ' οἷς ἐτύγχανε πεπεικῶς αὐτόν.

προσεικασθῆναι 'that the city should be considered like.'

248 τοὺς προκαταλαμβάνοντας...ὀνομάτων 'those who try to prejudice your feelings in their favour by claiming a monopoly of public spirit and generosity.' For προκαταλαμβάνειν used of such an attempt to get a prejudgment in favour of a person cp. §§ 9, 70, 71. For κοινὰ 'popular,' the reverse of exclusive or selfish, cp. Demosth. de Cor. 268, πάντες ἵστε ὅτι κοινὸς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπαρκῶν κ.τ.λ.



κεῖται μὲν ἐν μέσῳ 'are public property indeed': i.e. all may gain or use them, but practically the people readiest to do so are those who in their actions are most widely removed from them.

§§ 249—251 The way to avoid such national disgrace is not to grant these rewards lightly, but to demand a proof of the claimant's worthiness. If you do not do so, you will have particular men becoming so powerful as to defy the law and behave to foreign states, and be treated by them, as though they really represented the country's greatness in their own persons; while the people, shut out from its rightful privileges, must be content with the fragments of power they deign to leave it.

249 [ξενικῶν] στεφάνων καὶ κηρυγμάτων ἐν τοῖς "Ἑλλῃσιν 'crowns bestowed by foreign states and proclamations made before assembled Hellenes.' The objection to this sentence is that the crown proposed for Demosthenes is not ξενικός. Weidner gets out of the difficulty by following Benseler in striking out ἐν τοῖς "Ἑλλῃσιν, one ms. omitting ἐν. Simcox says that this crown is called ξενικός because given when foreign crowns should be (§ 230). This is not a very obvious or satisfactory explanation; and perhaps, if the word is to stand, it is best to take the reference as designedly made general, so as to include the case of Demosthenes though not to be confined to it. The objection to ἐν τοῖς "Ἑλλῃσιν is much less obvious; for by having the proclamation made at the exhibition of the new Tragedies in the Theatre the presence of various strangers was secured.

ἐπανάγειν...τὸν λόγον...σώφρονα 'bid him go back and address his argument to prove the worthiness and sobriety of his life': for such a cause is practically a βίου εὖθυνα § 230. For ἐπανάγειν cp. next note and § 57. [Some mss. read τῶν λόγων, in which case the words must be dependent on τὰς βεβαιώσεις from the next clause.]

τὰς βεβαιώσεις τῶν κτημάτων 'the giving securities for property.' Just as the law orders that a vendor should give a purchaser of property a security for the validity of his purchase, so should the orator be compelled to shew that his conduct, for which the reward is claimed, is a sure and proper ground on which to grant it. Cf. Demosth. in Zenoth. § 16, καὶ εἰ μὲν εἰς πίστιν ἔδωκας, τί πρὸ τοῦ κακουργήματος ἂν τὰ βέβαια ἐποιού; εἰ δ' ἀπιστῶν ἐτύγχανες, τί οὐχ, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι, τὰ δίκαια ἐλάμβανες ἐν τῇ γῇ; in Pantaen. § 12, τοῦ Μνησικλέους βεβαιούντος ἡμῖν. **βεβαίωσις**, see Harpokr. who quotes Lysias. If a third person disputed the validity of the purchaser's possession, he could proceed against the vendor by a δίκη βεβαιώσεως.

Schöm. *Att. Proc.* p. 720. He who brought such a suit was said ἀνάγειν ἐπὶ τὸν πρᾶττηρα Poll. 8, 34. Hence Aeschines says 'force him to refer back his claim to its original source.'

ἡδη διαφευγούσης ὑμᾶς 'which is already slipping through your hands,' i.e. by the usurpation of individuals.

250 εἰς ἰδιωτικὰς οἰκίας. He of course means Demosthenes and his party; but what letters these were we do not know (§ 225). Deinarch. (*in Dem.* § 20) asserts that embassies were sent to Demosthenes from the Arcadians and others, when they were preparing to march to the aid of Thebes.

τῶν πρωτεύοντων ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ apparently means from the Persian and Lacedemonian courts (Agis). Aeschines could hardly mean the Thebans by οἱ πρωτεύοντες ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ as Simcox thinks.

ἐφ' οἷς 'actions for which the penalty assigned by law is death,' i.e. treasonable communication with foreign states. The extraordinary severity of Athenian law, especially as to everything connected with, or that could by any means be brought under the category of προδοσία, may help to account for the desperate acts to which so many of her statesmen finally committed themselves. A man with the hemlock within measurable distance of his lips was not likely to stand at trifles.

παραναγιγνώσκουσιν 'read and compare with each other.'

βλέπειν εἰς τὰ ἐαυτῶν πρόσωπα, cp. §§ 137, 152. *Dem. de Cor.* § 283.

251 ἐκ τῆς ἀθυμίας, cp. 1, 131. ὥσπερ παραγεγηρακὼς ἢ παρanoiας ἐάλωκὼς 'as though beside itself from dotage or declared of unsound intellect' § 156. In either case the care of the family property was committed to the nearest male relative. See § 156; Plutarch, *εἰ πρεσβ. πολιτευτέον*, ch. 3 Σοφοκλῆς λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν υἱῶν παρanoiας φεύγων ἀναγνῶναι τὴν ἐν Οἰδίποδι τῇ ἐπὶ Κολωνοῦ πάροδον. Cp. *Cic. de Sen.* § 22.

νειμάμενοι 'having received as your share the leavings of the joint banquet, so to speak.' The orators take all the substantial advantages: the people are satisfied with such scraps in the way of pay and office as the orators do not want.

§§ 252—254 That my description of these proceedings as treason is justified you may learn from the severity with which much less serious acts were punished: one man for merely trying to leave Athens for Samos (after Chaeroneia) was

put to death; and Leocrates for going to Rhodes on the same occasion only escaped by an equality of votes. Compare their conduct with that of Demosthenes—with his cowardice, his mischievous policy, the disgrace he has brought upon Athens!

ληρῶ, see § 143. ἐκεῖθεν, cp. § 163.

252 ἐγένετό τις...ιδιώτης 'there was—tho' it pains me to mention repeatedly the city's misfortunes—a man in this town in no official capacity.' Madvig proposed to read ἀτυχία τῇ πόλει for τὰς ἀτυχίας τῆς πόλεως, and the reading is found in some mss. This seems to weaken the sense, but it gets rid of the somewhat rare construction of μεμνημένος with accusative of the object when it means 'mention,' but cp. Demosth. 1 *Olynth.* § 11, τὸ μεμνησθαι τὴν χάριν.

ἀνὴρ ιδιώτης 'a man who was in no official position.' Immediately after the battle of Chaeroneia a resolution seems to have been passed that no man should leave the country, but that all should stay and contribute to the safety of the State, the penalty of treason being indicted on all who departed. Who the man was who tried to go to Samos is not certain. It has generally been supposed that it was the Autolyceus mentioned in Lycurgus in *Leocr.* § 53; but it does not seem to tally with what Lycurgus says of him, that he remained himself to share the dangers of the people, but was charged with secretly sending away his wife and children.

ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς. The Council of the Areopagus would not in ordinary times try such a case, though it might lay an information (ἀπόφασις) before the people. But in times of great distress or alarm the Council of the Areopagus seems to have generally taken a more active and decisive part than on ordinary occasions. See *de Cor.* 133; Plutarch, *Themist.* 10 (just before Salamis); Lysias 12 § 63 (after Aegospotami).

ἕτερος δ' ιδιώτης. This is Leocrates, who after eight years' absence ventured back to Athens and was prosecuted by Lycurgus, whose speech is extant. Weidner strikes out ιδιώτης, but see Lycurg. § 31, χωρὶς τοίνυν τοῦτων Λεωκράτης ἀναβοήσεται αὐτίκα ὡς ιδιώτης ὢν καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ βήτορος καὶ συγκοφάντου δεινότητος ἀναρπαζόμενος. Leocrates appears to have pleaded that his voyage to Rhodes was for ordinary mercantile business. After about two years' residence at Rhodes he returned to Megara, where he stayed five years before venturing back to Athens.

εἰσηγγέλθη 'was impeached' on an εἰσαγγελία, for which see § 223.



ἴσαι αἱ ψήφοι, in case of an equality of votes there was an acquittal by a time-honoured principle of law. See Aeschyl. *Eumen.* 723:

ἀνὴρ ὃδ' ἐκπέφευγεν αἵματος δίκην  
ἴσον γάρ ἐστι τὰριθμημα τῶν πάλων.

Antiphon 5 § 51, καὶ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἐξ ἴσου γενόμενα τοῦ φεύγοντός ἐστι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ διώκοντος, εἴπερ γε καὶ τῶν ψήφων ἀριθμὸς ἐξ ἴσου γενόμενος τὸν φεύγοντα μᾶλλον ὠφέλει ἢ τὸν διώκοντα. Cp. also Eur. *Iph. T.* 1483; *Elect.* 1274. Hence the casting vote for acquittal was called ψήφος Ἀθηναίας, Dio Cass. 51, 19.

ὑπερώριστ' ἄν 'would have been banished and still be in banishment.' The force of ἄν with pluperf. is to state something that would have happened in the past, and the effects of which would have remained up to the present. For the word cp. § 244.

253 ἀπέδρα δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. This charge is ridiculous, if it refers to the visits of Demosthenes in the Peloponnese after Chaeroneia to raise money and allies for Athens. See § 159. He may also refer to his transferring his residence to the Peiraeus, § 209.

ἀποπέμψετε, § 235.

ὡς ληστήν τῶν πραγμάτων 'as a pirate who infests the State,' 'who commits his piracies on the State,' the objective genitive. W. quotes Soph. *O. R.* 535, ληστής ἐναργῆς τῆς ἐμῆς τυραννίδος.

ἐπ' ὀνομάτων...πλέοντα 'cruising through the State on their wordy craft.' The pirate would sail ἐπὶ ληστρικῆς κέλῃτος (Thucyd. 4, 9, 1), so the orator is said to cruise ἐπ' ὀνομάτων.

254 τὸν καιρὸν μέμνησθε. See on μεμνημένους § 252. W. reads ἐπιμνήσθητε (ed. 1878).

τὰ Πύθια. The Pythian games were held every four years, the third year of each Olympiad (this was B.C. 330 or Olymp. 112. 3), some time in April (or according to others in September), at Crissa.

τὸ συνέδριον τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. This is interpreted by Bremi and Weidner to mean the meeting of the Amphictyons, as in § 161; and W. supposes that the recent movement in the Peloponnese was to be brought before the Council by the Macedonian officers. But this is entirely a conjecture. The phrase is sometimes used more generally, see Demosth. *de Cor.* § 22; and it seems more natural to suppose that the assembly of the Greeks from various states at the Pythian games is here indicated. Aeschines means that the decision they come to now

will be canvassed in this great collection of Greeks in a spirit of hostility already engendered by the policy recommended by Demosthenes; though there may be a veiled allusion to possible ulterior consequences of a more definite character.

περὶ τοὺς νῦν καιροὺς 'in regard to the present crisis,' or 'dangers'; i.e. when Alexander is so successful, and when therefore it will be dangerous to honour such an avowed enemy of Macedonia.

§§ 255—259 Remember then it is your own country which will be affected by your vote. Do not let private intimacy sway your feelings; but contrast with him and his empty boasts the glorious services of the heroes of old; and show yourselves true sons of those men who punished with death the man who brought Persian gold into the country, though not for himself.

255 τὰς φιλοτιμίας μὴ νέμετε ἀλλὰ κρίνετε 'make the attainment of the objects of ambition the result, not of mere largess, but of deliberate judgment.' For *φιλοτιμία* in a concrete sense of 'honours' cp. § 45 *φιλοτιμίαν κτᾶσθαι*. For *νέμετε* cp. Dem. Lept. § 141, οὐδ' ἐλάττους ἐνείματε τὰς τιμὰς διὰ ταῦτα.

εἰς βελτίω σώματα 'for the use of better persons' § 78. ἀπόθεσθε 'reserve,' 'store up.' Cp. [Demosth.] *ad Timoth.* § 31, δίδωσι ἀποθεῖναι τῷ Φορμίωνι μετ' ἄλλων χρημάτων καὶ φάλας λυκιουργεῖς δύο. Eurip. *I. T.* 376, πολλὰ δ' ἀπεθέμην ἀσπᾶσματα ἐσαῖθις, ὡς ἤξουσ' ἐς Ἄργος αὐτὸς πάλιν. Cobet would however read *κατάθεσθε*, which certainly is commoner in this sense.

οἱ συγκυνηγέται ἢ οἱ συγγυμνασταὶ αὐτοῦ 'who were his fellows in the hunting-field and the gymnasium,' i.e. who were boys and young men with him and attended the same gymnastic school. Thus Orestes addresses Pylades (Eur. *I. T.* 709) ὦ συγκυναγὲ καὶ συνεκτραφεῖς ἐμοί.

ἐν ἡλικίᾳ = ἐν ἡβῃ 'in youth.'

ἀλλ' ἐπασκῶν... κεκτημένους. Demosthenes has not passed his life in anything so manly as hunting and gymnastics 'but in practising artifices to catch men of property.' Cp. 1, § 167, Δημοσθένης γὰρ, ἐπεὶ δὴ τὴν πατρῶαν οὐσίαν ἀνῆλωσε, περιήει περὶ τὴν πόλιν θηρεύων νέους πλουσίους ὀρφανούς, ὧν οἱ μὲν πατέρες τετελευτήκεσαν αἱ δὲ μητέρες διώκουν τὴν οὐσίαν. Lys. 24 § 19, συλλέγεσθαί φησιν ἀνθρώπους ὡς ἐμὲ πονηροὺς, οἱ τὰ μὲν ἑαυτῶν ἀνηλώκασι, τοῖς δὲ τὰ σφέτερα σώζειν βουλομένοις ἐπιβουλεύουσι.

256 ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἀλαζονεῖαν ἀποβλέψαντες. There is no apodosis to this sentence. We must therefore either suppose

that some words have been lost, as Weidner does, marking the lacuna after διαγεγένηται, or we must suppose that this is a designed ἀποσιώπησις,—the orator meaning to end with some such word as καταψηφίσεσθε, but breaking off with the parenthetical sentence οἶται γάρ.

Βυζαντίους, Dem. *de Cor.* 88—90. Byzantium was besieged in B.C. 340 by Philip and relieved by a combined fleet of Athenians, Chians, and Rhodians. Demosthenes asserts that it was mainly through his exertions that this help was sent from Athens, and a friendship made with Byzantium. Cp. Plutarch *Dem.* 17, *Phoc.* 14.

ἀποστῆσαι δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνας ‘caused the Acarnanians to revolt from Philip.’ About the time of the relief of Byzantium a league was formed comprising Euboea, Megara, Corinth, Achaia, Coreyra and Leucadia to act under the leadership of Athens, and it seems from this passage and § 97, that Acarnania also joined the League. Plut. *Dem.* 17.

Θηβαίους. Plutarch l. c. ὁ μέγιστος ὑπελείπετο τῷ Δημοσθένει τῶν ἀγόνων, Θηβαίους προσαγαγέσθαι τῇ συμμαχίᾳ. *De Cor.* § 211.

ὥσπερ Πειθῷ τρέφοντας ‘as though you were nourishing among you a goddess of persuasion.’ Cp. the description of Pericles by Εὐπολῖς (ap. Schol. in Arist. *Ach.* 535) πειθῷ τις ἐπεκαθέζετ’ ἐπὶ τοῖς χεῖλεσι. Thus Ennius calls M. Cethegus *flos delibatus populi suadaeque medulla* (Cic. *Brut.* 58). For τρέφοντας of the people keeping certain persons in their midst, cf. Arist. *Ran.* 1431 (of Alcibiades) μάλιστα μὲν λέοντα μὴ ὕπνῳ τρέφειν.

257 ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος. See § 207.

ἀντιπαρταταγμένους drawn up to oppose Demosthenes and his friends.

Σόλωνα νόμοις. Solon was credited with all laws of great antiquity at Athens, § 168. See Dem. *de Cor.* 6. He is here alluded to as a typical φιλόσοφος also, that is, as a legislator on philosophical principles, as well as a man of general learning. σοφίας μὲν γὰρ ἦν ὁμολογουμένος ἐραστής, ὅς γε καὶ πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἔλεγε. Γηράσκειν αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος, Plut. *Sol.* 2. [Weidner strikes out ἄνδρα φιλόσοφον καὶ νομοθέτην ἀγαθόν.]

258 τὸν τοὺς φόρους τάξαντα τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ‘who settled the assessment of contribution for the Greeks,’ i.e. in virtue of the confederacy of Delos. Plutarch, *Arist.* 24, ταχθῆναι βουλόμενοι (οἱ Ἕλληνες) κατὰ πόλιν ἐκάστοις τὸ μέτριον ἡτήσαντο παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων Ἀριστείδην καὶ παρέταξαν αὐτῷ χώραν τε καὶ προσόδους ἐπισκεψάμενον ὀρίσαι τὸ κατ’ ἀξίαν ἐκάστω καὶ



δύναμιν. This assessment was always looked back upon with admiration in after-times, when the φόρος was increased. Cp. *de Fals. Leg.* § 23. See above § 181.

τὰς θυγατέρας ἐξέδωκεν 'portioned his daughters,' as Aristides died poor. Plut. *Arist.* 27, καὶ τὰς μὲν θυγατέρας ἱστοροῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ πρυτανείου τοῖς νυμφίοις ἐκδοθῆναι, δημοσίᾳ τῆς πόλεως τὸν γάμον ἐγγυούσης καὶ προῖκα τρισχιλίας δραχμὰς ἐκτέρα ψηφισαμένης.

σχετλιάζοντα, § 244.

τῷ τῆς δικαιοσύνης προπηλακισμῷ 'the dishonour done to his title of the Just.'

"*Ἀρθμιον...Μήδων χρυσίον.* Before the campaign which ended at Plataea Mardonius sent agents into Greece to buy the support of certain persons in the various cities (Herod. 9, 2; Diodor. xi. 28). Among these appears to have been Arthmios of Zeleia in the Troad. He was caught, and on the motion of Themistocles was declared ἄτιμος with all of his descendants, that is apparently, incapable of being a citizen of Athens or any state in alliance with her. See Demosth. 3 *Phil.* § 42, τί οὖν λέγει τὰ γράμματα; "Ἀρθμιος, φησὶν, ὁ Πυθῶνακτος ὁ Ζηλείτης, ἄτιμος ἔστω καὶ πολέμιος τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτὸς καὶ γένος. εἶθ' ἡ αἰτία γέγραπται δι' ἣν ταῦτ' ἐγένετο. ὅτι τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἐκ τῶν Μήδων εἰς Ἡελοπόννησον ἤγαγεν. See also Plut. *Themist.* 6. Deinarch. in *Aristot.* § 24.

πρόξενον. See § 42.

παρ' οὐδὲν μὲν ἦλθον 'were within an ace of putting him to death.' This use of παρά is common, παρὰ νύκτα ἐγένετο λαβεῖν (Thucyd. 4, 106, 3), παρὰ ὀλίγον ἢ διέφευγεν ἢ ἀπώλλυντο (id. 7, 71, 4), παρ' ὀλίγον ἀπέφυγε (Eurip. *I. T.* 87): but παρ' οὐδὲν is a somewhat strange exaggeration of the phrase, and I should be inclined to suggest παρ' ὀλίγον ἢ οὐδὲν.

259 οὐ κομίσαντα, who has not indeed brought Persian gold into the country, as Arthmios did, to distribute to others, but who has accepted it himself and has it in his possession to this day.

Θεμιστοκλέα. Themistocles and the *Μαραθωνόμαχοι* are invoked to bring odium upon Demosthenes for accepting Persian money (τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον); but of course the gist of his accusation depends upon the truth of the next clause μετὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ὁμολογῶν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀντιπράττειν,—which Demosthenes can easily show was not the case; for the Hellenism of the Macedonian government was only admitted by a minority in Greece: he and those who acted with him would plead that they accepted the Persian gold to defend Greece

against an equally alien enemy, who for the moment was the more formidable of the two.

260 I have spoken my utmost in behalf of all that is highest and best. It rests with you, O judges, now to vote for the right.

The end of the last section 'was the true climax. But Aeschines felt the pressure of the Attic rule. He must not end thus. The storm must be laid in a final harmony. And so he passed on to the most tremendous failure that ever followed so close upon a triumph.' Jebb, *Attic Orators*, vol. II., p. 407.

παιδεία, ἥ διαγιγνώσκωμεν 'that culture and refinement by which we learn to distinguish between good and evil.' Cp. §§ 117, 170, and Plato *Protag.* 325 D, τροφὸς καὶ μήτηρ καὶ παιδαγωγὸς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πατήρ περὶ τούτου διαμάχονται ὅπως ὡς βέλτιστος ἔσται ὁ παῖς, παρ' ἑκάστων καὶ ἔργον καὶ λόγον διδάσκοντες καὶ ἐνδεικνύμενοι ὅτι τὸ μὲν δίκαιον τὸ δὲ ἄδικον, καὶ τόδε μὲν καλόν, τόδε δὲ αἰσχρόν.

βεβοήθηκα sc. ὑμῖν. This appeal to sun, earth, virtue etc. is ridiculed by Demosthenes in *de Cor.* § 127.

καὶ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων λόγων καὶ ἐκ τῶν παραλελειμμένων 'as well from what I have said as from what I have left unsaid.' A rhetorical commonplace, see *Lys.* 14, 17; 31, 34 (W.).

## APPENDIX A.

### ON THE LAWS CONCERNING THE PROCLAMATION OF CROWNS, §§ 32—48.

It is generally admitted that in regard to his first count, that the law forbade the voting a crown to a man who was *ὑπεύθυνος*, Aeschines was legally in the right. The plea put forward by Demosthenes that it was proposed to give him the crown, not for his conduct in office, but for his extra-official services and benefactions, cannot stand discussion.

The question in regard to the second count, that the law ordered that a proclamation of such a crown should be made only in the Bouleuterion or the Pnyx, according as it had been voted by the Boulè or Ecclesia, is a somewhat more complicated one.

The view put forward by Aeschines is to this effect. There are two laws, the latter of which he calls the Dionysiac Law (§ 35). Demosthenes he supposes will quote the second in his favour. Now it is impossible, according to the Athenian constitution, that two contradictory laws should exist together; and they are to be reconciled as follows.

(A) BY LAW NUMBER I. all proclamations of crowns are confined to the Bouleuterion or Pnyx.

But this regulation was so worded that it had been held to refer only to such crowns as were voted by the Demos or the Boulè; and crowns (1) given by a man's tribe or deme, (2) by foreign states, were frequently proclaimed in the theatre; as well as (3) other matters of a more private nature, such as the liberation of slaves. These things were done without an appeal to the people, and came to be regarded as a nuisance to the festival (*τὸ θέατρον... ἠνωχλείτο* § 44): and accordingly there was enacted

(B) LAW NUMBER II. *ὁ Διονυσιακὸς νόμος*. This had no reference to persons crowned by Demos or Boulè,—their proclamations were confined to the Pnyx and Bouleuterion by Law I., and were not now in question. It referred solely to the second class of crowns, those voted by demes and tribes,



and by foreign states, and to the proclamations of emancipation. In regard to these it ordered that no crown voted by deme or tribe should be proclaimed in the theatre, and no act of emancipation. The only crowns left untouched are those given by foreign states. Therefore the following clauses of the law,—‘No crown shall be proclaimed in the theatre without a special vote of the people (ἐὰν μὴ ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος), and if such a proclamation does take place the crown shall be taken from the person and dedicated in a temple,’—can only refer to these foreign crowns.

He accordingly infers that Demosthenes cannot support his case by referring to this second law; for it does not touch the question of his crown, which is to be voted by Boulè and Demos; and comes under the first law.

To this Demosthenes [*de Cor.* § 120—2] answers very briefly by quoting a law which contains the saving clause πλὴν ἐάν τις ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσηται.

If there were two laws such as Aeschines describes, and if Demosthenes is here quoting only the second of the two, this is no answer at all. But if Law I. had this clause, and if Aeschines suppressed it [*νόμους μεταποιῶν, τῶν δ' ἀφαιρῶν μέρη, de Cor.* § 121], then Demosthenes may be held perhaps to have established that by a *special* vote of Demos or Boulè such a proclamation was admissible. Blass [*die Attische Beredsamkeit*, III. 2, p. 186—7] holds with Kirchhoff that Aeschines did so mutilate the law. It seems surprising that an orator should venture to do so, when the law itself was within everyone's cognisance, and the omission would give such a handle for a retort by his opponent: and it is remarkable that Demosthenes entirely evades the point of there being two laws, and rapidly drops the subject and passes to a general criticism of his opponent's method of attack. It looks very much like the famous instruction to counsel, ‘No case: abuse the Plaintiff's Attorney.’ I feel therefore considerable hesitation in accepting Blass' decision that Aeschines had not the law on his side. I am more inclined to believe that technically he was right; but that, in spite of the law, custom was against him; and that though the clause ἐὰν μὴ ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος, or πλὴν ἐάν τις ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσηται (whether only in the second or in both laws), did not really cover the case of Ctesiphon's proposal,—as we might see perhaps if we possessed the laws,—yet that it had been tacitly allowed to authorise such proclamations at various times; and that, as Blass says, Aeschines' ‘assertion that what was constantly occurring was unlawful, was likely to surprise everyone.’ Nevertheless it might be the fact, for all that; although without having the text of the laws before us it is not possible to decide with certainty.

## APPENDIX B.

ΟΝ Δελφῶν ὅσοι ἐπὶ δέτετες ἡβῶσι § 122.

Aeschines is probably not using the words of the Amphictyons, but is employing a phrase familiar to Athenians to express a certain time of life, as the second Scholiast says, κοινὸν ποιῶν τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ πάντων Ἑλλήνων.

The question is, what period in the life of a youth is meant?

(1) Didymus is quoted in the first scholium as saying that it meant from 16 to 18, at which latter period a youth became ἔφηβος (being said ἡβᾶν before, or called πρόσηβος), and was entered in the register of his deme as eligible for office [τὸ ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον], remaining ἔφηβος two years. This view is accepted by Weidner in his note ad loc. Cp. Bekker's *Charicles* p. 238.

(2) But a second Scholiast says that it means the period between 18 and 20, during which he served as περίπολος, not being liable to foreign service until 20.

This is supported by Pollux (8, 105):

**περίπολοι.** ἔφηβοι περιήσαν τὴν χώραν φυλάττοντες, ὥσπερ ἤδη μελετῶντες τὰ στρατιωτικά. καὶ εἰς μὲν τοὺς ἐφήβους εἰσήσαν ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτη γενόμενοι, δύο δ' εἰς περιπόλους ἡριθμοῦντο, εἰκοστῷ δὲ ἐνεγράφοντο τῷ ληξιαρχικῷ γραμματεῖω καὶ ὤμνουν ἐν Ἀγραύλῳ.

Against Didymus also it may be urged that he himself affirms that at 14 a boy is said ἡβᾶν, and there does not seem therefore any reason for beginning the period two years later, at 16.

Again, against identifying the period described by ἐπὶ δέτετες ἡβᾶν with the time of service as περίπολος is the assertion of Aristotle (ap. Harpoer. and Suidas s.v. περίπολος) that the necessary period of such service was one and not two years; which is illustrated by the boast of Aeschines [*de f. Leg.* § 167] that as soon as he had ceased to be a παῖς he served two years as περίπολος, as though it were a work of supererogation.

I think the explanation of these apparent contradictions is to be sought in the variety of usage as to the period in life at which the δοκιμασία of youths took place, a variety extending, according to circumstances or the wish of parents, between 14 and 18, this last being the outside limit. When the δοκιμασία had taken place, a certain period had to elapse before the youth obtained full citizenship, was entered in the register, and took the oath; this period is described by the phrase ἐπὶ δέτετες ἡβᾶν, and during a part of it at any rate he served as περίπολος, and sometimes during the whole. Until the end of it he could not exercise the rights of property in some cases which the law gives him. Thus the son of an heiress only took control of the family property when he had completed this period: see [Dem.] in Steph. B, § 20, ἐὰν... ἄμα ἡβήσῃ ἐπὶ δέτετες. Isaeus 8 § 31, ὅποτε ἐπὶ δέτετες ἡβησαν. Id. 10 § 12, ἐπὶ δέτετες ἡβήσαντας. Suidas (s. v. ἡβήσαντες) curiously seems to confine the phrase to this particular class of cases. That a youth could perform some acts of a public nature before this period seems to follow from Lysias 12 § 31, where the speaker says that he instituted a prosecution ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐδοκιμάσθη. And id. 32 § 9 where a boy is told to shift for himself ἐπειδὴ δεδοκίμασαι καὶ ἀνὴρ γεγένησαι.

But if we accept the account of Pollux, we must regard the civil rights as not perfect at this point: and my view, therefore, is that the period indicated by ἐπὶ δέτετες ἡβᾶν was that between δοκιμασία (which varied from the 14th to the 18th year) and the formal entry in the ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον. This latter could not take place until the service as περίπολος had been performed. But some put this off till 18 (devoting themselves meanwhile to gymnastics), others performed it at once. But whenever the period came, or whether it was really two years or less or more, it was equally described by the phrase ἐπὶ δέτετες ἡβᾶν.



## APPENDIX C.

### NOTES ON THE TEXT.

[A stands for three codices named by Bekker g. k. l. A<sup>h</sup> for these same together with a fourth which he calls h. B for four codices which Bekker calls a. g. m. n. These two groups of mss., though derived from one archetype, have special features in which as groups they differ from each other, and agree as between the members of the groups. The readings of many other mss. are given by Bekker, Schultz and Weidner: but in the following notes on the Text I have only noticed the variations of these two groups, and in them only when their variation is of definite importance in constructing the text: which will be found to be more often in agreement with that of Franke in the Teubner series (1883) than with any other. Its deviation from the text of the Zurich editors (BS) is also noticed; and a full account given of the emendations of A. Weidner (W. 1872 and 1878). These emendations appear to me to be often violent and unnecessary. In at least forty-four places he omits one or more words on the ground that A and B vary their order, in many cases I believe without improvement, and in some with actual damage to the text. Another frequent ground of excision is the supposed superfluity of explanation conveyed by certain words or phrases. But it is sometimes necessary to remember that reiteration of even well-known truths is effective with a popular audience; and moreover that Aeschines was not a master of his art as was Demosthenes; and that an unerring instinct as to what is or is not superfluous is perhaps the surest note of such a master. Some of Weidner's excisions in the edition of 1872 are restored in that of 1878, and with these restorations I have generally found myself in agreement. To balance them he has seen fresh reason in 1878 to suspect words which he had passed over in 1872, so that the total result is a very considerable alteration of the text. Though I have not often followed him, there can be no doubt that his emendations have considerable value, and deserve to be considered in each case. I have therefore given I believe all of them in the subjoined notes.]

§ 1. ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι. So all but two mss. Weidner adds *ἄνδρες* throughout. He quotes Harpocration s.v. *παραγγελία*, where this opening sentence is given with ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. Cp. Suidas and Photius *Lex.* under the same word. Their testimony is not cumulative, as they appear to have copied the article the one from the other.

δεύτερον δέ. Group A have *ἔπειτα δεύτερον*. From this W. gathers that *δεύτερον δέ* is a gloss on *ἔπειτα*.

οὐδεμίαν...ἰσχύειν. W. *οὐδεμίαν ἄν*. But the simple infinitive more forcibly represents a constant habit attributed to juries.

§ 2. ἔν' ἐξήν. BS. *ἐξῆ*.

ὥσπερ οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσι omitted by W. after Bake. B. has *προστάττουσι*. *χωρὶς* omitted by W. with A.

§ 3. τὰ ψηφίσματα. W. brackets. Westermann omits.

εἰσαγγέλλειν. Reiske altered to *εἰσαγγελεῖν* and is followed by Schultz and Weidner. But the present and aorist infinitive are found with *ἀπειλεῖν*. See Goodw. *M. and T.*, § 136.

δυναστείας. W. *τὰς δυναστείας*.

περιποιούμενοι A. *περιποιούντες* B.

§ 6. ὅτι ὅταν. In 1872 W. transferred *ὅτι* to precede *ἐν ταύτῃ*, but restored it to this position in 1878.

§ 7. τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν. Some mss. have *εἰς τήνδε*, from which W. elicits *ὄντες*. I should rather conjecture *εἶναι*, cp. the phrase *ἀπέδειξεν εἶναι* in Herodotus (e.g. 5, 25).

§ 8. γεγραφότα is more natural in reference to actions long past, and is supported by A.

§ 9. τὰς μεγίστας ἀρχὰς. Some mss. have *τὰς μεγ. ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀρχ.*, some *τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐν τ. π. μεγίστας*. Hence W. *τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει*, ed. 1872, but restores *τὰς μεγίστας ἀρχὰς* in ed. 1878. *τὰ μέγιστα* is not ordinary Greek for 'the most important things.'

§ 10. ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων. W. brackets in 1878.

§ 11. κρείττους. *κρείττονες* λόγοι τῶν νόμων MS. *κρείττους τινὲς* τῶν νόμων W. In 1878 he also brackets *τούτων γὰρ* [τινὲς] *μέτριοί* [εἰσι] and *πρὸς τὰ ψηφίσματα. κρείττους* λόγοι Schultz.

§ 13. ἐκείνας εἶναι. W. *ἐκείνας τ' εἶναι*.

§ 14. ὁ νομοθέτης. W. omits.

§ 15. ἐπειδὴ...ἄρχουσι. W. brackets the whole clause.

§ 16. κακοῦργον καὶ σοφιστήν. Thus two mss. W. κακοῦργον ἄνθρωπον καὶ σ. Bake κακοῦργον σοφιστήν.

§ 19. διαχειρίσαντας. Bake and W. -ζοντας, but is not the aorist required? 'who after having had the management.'

προσόδων del. Bake and W.

§ 20. εὐθύνας [διδόναι]. W. Cob. omit, cf. § 15. But ἐγγράφειν λόγον is the particular, εὐθύνας διδόναι the general. [καὶ] τὸν om. W. ἄγει. W. ἄγων. εὐθύνας δίδοναι...ἄγει omitted in A<sup>b</sup>. W.'s emendation seems unnecessary and far from an improvement.

§ 21. λέγει. W. brackets in 1878. χρήματα. [ἦ] χρήματα W. omits in 1878. πάλιν ὑπεύθυνον. W. brackets in 1878.

τὰς οὐσίας...τὰς τῶν ὑπευθύνων. W. τὰ τῶν ὑπευθύνων. τὰς in 1878.

§ 22. καὶ ἀνεξέταστον om. W. I suppose as a gloss on ἀζήτητον. But in fact it is very hard to say which was the gloss on the other.

§ 23. δέκα...εἰληφώς. W. omits. [ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν] bracketed in 1878. μηδ' ἔμπροσθεν τῶν νόμων. W. [1872] μηδὲ πρόσθε, but (ed. 1878) ἔμπροσθεν.

§ 24. περαιτέρω [τούτου]. W. as usual omits, because the order is reversed in the two classes of mss.

§ 25. καὶ νεώριον. Dobr. καὶ νεωρίων ἀρχήν. W. καὶ νεωρίων τ' ἐπεμέλοντο.

§ 27. καὶ δικαστηρίων ἡγεμονίας ἐλάβανε om. W. ms. Laur. ἀνελάβανε. μηνὸς om. W. because the two groups vary the order. But cp. § 67.

ἐπὶ τὰ τέιχη. W. περὶ 'vitium natum ex compendiis π. π.' In 1878 τῶν περὶ. But is not ἐπὶ better? See Lutz *Präpositionen*, p. 119 § 4. Schultz omits the words.

§ 28. εὐθὺς. BS. εὐθέως. βραχὺς καὶ σαφὴς καὶ ταχὺ λύων, 'nondum persanatum est,' W.

[πρῶτον] προειπεῖν del. W. 'vitium ex dittographia.'

§ 29. καὶ τῶν δημοσίων ἐπιστάται del. W.

αἶρετοί. W. brackets in 1878.

§ 30. ἐαυτῶν. W. αὐτῶν. See Meisterhans p. 121. Only one ms. has αὐτῶν, the rest αὐτῶν.

§ 34. Κτησιφῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ. W. Κτησιφῶν δὲ οὐκ ἐν Πυκνὴ ἀλλ' ἐν τ. θ. quite unnecessarily.

ἀγωνιζομένων καινῶν B. W. with three mss. γιγνομένων, but suggests εἰσιόντων.



§ 35. οἷσουσι. W. ἐποίσουσι, but ἐποίσει above is rather against this being used in a different sense. 1878, μετόισουσι.

§ 36. τῇδε τῇ γραφῇ. BS. γραφῇ τῇδε. ἕτερον δ' εἶναι [νόμον] om. W. φήσουσιν. W. brackets in 1878.

[τόν] δεδωκότα om. W. but the aorist participle would be more natural without τόν. He restores it in 1878.

§ 38. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχει. W. οὔτ', which to my mind weakens the sentence.

§ 39. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀναιρεῖν τῶν νόμων τοὺς δὲ καταλείπειν. W. brackets.

§ 40. ἀληθῆς [ῆν]. W. omits, wrongly I think.

§ 41. ὅθεν δὲ [δῆ]. W. omits. Restores in 1878.

ἐλευθέρους, μάρτυρας [τῆς ἀπελευθερίας] τοὺς Ἕλληνας ποιούμενοι. The first word is Cobet's emendation of ἀπελευθέρους, who also omits τῆς ἀπελευθερίας. Schultz and W. both follow him.

§ 42. ἡ καὶ ἄλλης τινὸς πόλεως. W. brackets for his usual reason, that one group of mss. has τινὸς ἄλλης.

§ 44. ὑπὸ τῶν [φυλετῶν καὶ] δημοτῶν. W. omits. In 1878 brackets [ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν] and [καὶ περὶ τῶν ξενικῶν στεφάνων].

§ 45. εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. W. after Usener omits εἰς.

στεφανουμένοις after δήμου and δημοτῶν is omitted by Cobet, and bracketed by W.

καὶ φυλετῶν om. W. A has τῶν φυλετῶν, B φυλετῶν.

§ 46. μέγα om. W. as usual because in A and B the order is reversed. A σημεῖον ὑμῖν μέγα. B μέγα σημεῖον ὑμῖν.

καταγνῶναι [τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων] om. W.

καὶ καθιεροῦν om. W. with some mss.

§ 47. στέφανον [ἀναρρηθέντα] om. W. as A and B reverse order. In 1878 omits στέφανον restores ἀναρρηθέντα.

μὴ κηρύττεσθαι. W. μηδέ.

στέφανον [ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ]. W. omits.

§ 48. γέγραφεν. W. οὗτος γέγραφεν. A has γέγραφεν. B γεγράφας (so Franke).

§ 52. ἐπὶ τῆς νεῶς om. W. [Most mss. have νεῶς.]

§ 53. ὅτω. W. ὅπου. 1878 ὅτω.

§ 56. τῶν [ἄλλων] πολιτῶν (B) om. W. A has τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων. He restores it in 1878.

οἷοι δὴ. W. οἷοι γε.

ἀποκρίνομαι. W. adds δὴ.

§ 57. προσδοκῶ. Cob. μοι δοκῶ.

Δημοσθένην [αἴτιον γεγενημένον] om. W.

τῇ [τοῦ λόγου] τάξει om. W., as A and B reverse the order. ταύτῃ in 1872, ταύτῃ in 1878.

[ποιεῖσθαι] μέλλειν om. W. because A and B reverse, but would not a glossator have written χρήσεσθαι?

§ 59. ψευδεῖς οἴκοθεν [ένιότε] δόξας ἔχοντες om. W.; as A and B reverse ψευδεῖς ένιότε.

κατὰ τῶν λογισμῶν om. W.

§ 61. τοὺς [παρ' ἐκείνου] πρέσβεις om. W.

ἐκδοτον δὲ [Φιλίππῳ] πεποιηκότα om. W., as A and B reverse Φιλίππῳ and πεποιηκότα.

§ 62. χρόνος...βουλευτής. W. brackets.

§ 63. ἔδωκε. BS. δέδωκε.

§ 64. προσέχετε [τὸν νοῦν] om. W., as A and B reverse the order.

§ 65. ἐπ' αὐτὸν [ἤδη] στρατεία om. W., as A and B reverse ἐπ' αὐτ. and ἤδη.

παρηγγέλλετο. Cob. W. παρήγγελτο as in § 116. Franke παρηγγέλλετο, cp. § 90.

§ 66. Δημοσθένης. Om. W.

§ 67. προάγων. BS. προαγών (so Franke).

[ἤδη] παρῶσιν om. W., as A and B reverse the order.

§ 68. ἀκούσατε τῶν ψηφισμάτων. W. τῶν ψηφισμάτων αὐτῶν ἀκούσατε. There is no objection to αὐτῶν, though it is not positively necessary. A and B vary the order; A has ψηφ. ἀκ., B ἀκ. τῶν ψηφ.

§ 69. ᾧ Ἀθηναῖοι. W. omits and writes ἐν γε τῇ προτέρᾳ.

§ 70. μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου om. W.

§ 71. τοιαύτην τινὰ δόξαν. W. τοιοῦτόν τι ὑπειληφώς. Cp. 1, 49, καὶ τοιοῦτόν τι τῇ διανοίᾳ ὑπολάβητε. But here the τῇ διανοίᾳ makes all the difference. W. restores the words in 1878.

παρῆμεν. W. from Cob. παρήμεν, but wrongly, see note. He restores παρῆμεν in 1878.

προκαταλαβόν. BS. προκαταλαμβάνων.

τῶν χθὲς εἰρημένων. W. ἐχθὲς. The evidence for the two forms is not very satisfactory. ἐχθὲς is not found elsewhere in the Orators except in a fragment of Antiphon, see Athenaeus 397 D. Cp. Arist. N. 175. χθὲς is also rare. Cp. Dem. *de Cor.* 130; Thucyd. 3, 113; Herod. 2, 53. On the whole, it seems safest to stand by the mss.

§ 72. ἐρωτήματ' ἡρώτα. W. in 1878, which I have accepted for ἐρώτημά τι. A. omits τι.

κατὰ τῆς πόλεως bracketed by W. 1878.

§ 74. Φιλοκράτης om. W. after Bake.

μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων γραμμάτων om. W.

Δημοσθένης om. W.

ἐν ᾧ γέγραπται. W. after Martel omits; Franke retains it.

§ 76. μοί [ἐστι] om. W. as A and B reverse.

[μόνον καὶ] πρῶτον om. W. as A and B reverse. 1878  
πρῶτον καὶ μόνον.

καὶ κολακείαν om. W.

§ 78. οὐδέποθ' ὑμᾶς...ποιήσεται. W. οὐδέποτ' ἂν ὑμᾶς...ποιήσαιτο. But the indicative better serves to mark the definite reference to Demosthenes; οὐκ ἂν...γένοιτο is a supposititious case.

§ 80. καὶ τὰς τε ἐν Φωκεῦσι. W. τὰς τ' ἐν Φωκ. and adds καὶ γὰς ἐν Βοιωτοῖς, referring to Dem. xix. § 112, 141.

§ 81. [ὑπὲρ τούτων] ὑπὲρ ᾧν om. W.

πονηρὸς πιστὸς. W. ὡς πιστός. Restores in 1878.

§ 82. ἀρχὰς [αὐτοῖς] om. W., as A and B reverse.

§ 83. τὰς [τῆς εἰρήνης] συνθήκας W. omits: A has τὰς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης.

§ 84. ταῦτα τρία μέγιστα. W. τὰ μέγιστα.

§ 85. πεζῇ. BS. πεζικῇ.

§ 88. [ἀγαθοί] ἐγένοντο om. W., as A and B reverse the order: but he restores it 1878.

μάχη W. brackets.

[μέγιστόν] ἐστι [κακόν]. W. ἐστι δεινότατον.

ἀναξίους [αὐτοῦ] om. W. as A and B reverse the order.

§ 89. διαλιπὼν [χρόνον]. W. brackets.

§ 90. ἀδικήσας δὲ Φίλιππον κάκειθεν ἀποδράς. W. ἀδικήσας δὲ κάκεινον ἀποδράς.



§ 91. ἐλπίδας [κενάς] om. W., A and B reversing the order.

ἢ τε Φιλίππου καὶ ἡ Θηβαίων om. W.

δεύτερον δ' [ἦκον...συνμαχίαν] om. W.

§ 92. Δημοσθένης. W. brackets.

§ 94. ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς. W. brackets.

Εὐβοϊκὸν [συνέδριον] om. W., the mss. varying the order.

§ 96. πεζήν. BS. πεζικήν.

§ 98. πλέον A. πλείονας B. W. πλείν. I have adopted the reading of A as the truer Attic. See Meisterhans *Gramm. der Att. Inschr.* p. 120. Cob. regarded πλεῖν as the true Attic form, but this is not borne out by inscriptions.

§ 100. γράφει [κελεύων] ἐλέσθαι B, W. omits; A has καὶ κελεύει.

τὰ πέντε τάλαντα om. W.

καὶ πάλιν ἐτέρους [αἰρεῖσθαι] εἰς Ὀρεὸν (πρὸς τοὺς Ὀρεῖτας) [πρέσβεις]. W. omits words in square brackets, Cob. those in round. Franke objects to αἰρεῖσθαι after ἐλέσθαι, and seems to think the sentence much corrupted.

δεήσονται. BS. δεήσονται αὐτοῖς.

§ 101. καὶ τὰς τριήρεις om. W. de Boor καὶ τὰς τερατείας.

τὴν ἀλαζονείαν. W. τὰς ἀλαζονείας.

[ἀνάγνωθι καὶ] τοῦ om. W. and before τοῦ inserts αὐτοῦ.

τῶν Ἀθηναίων. W. τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

§ 104. ὅτι ἐλαχίστου χαλκοῦ οὐδὲν δέοιτο. W. ὅτι καὶ μάλα χρυσοῦ χαλκοῦ δ' οὐδὲν δέοιτο. In 1878 ὅτι πολλοῦ μὲν χρυσοῦ χαλκοῦ δ' οὐδὲν δέοιτο.

εἰσπράττειν B. εἰσέπραττεν W with A.

§ 106. [αὐτοῦ] πλημμελημάτων om. W., A and B varying the order.

§ 107. Κιρραῖον. W. Κρισαῖον, and omits ὠνομασμένον. He refers to Harpoer. But Harpoer. has Κιρραῖον, and cannot be held to support the omission of ὠνομασμένον. The strongest argument is the repetition of the word.

§ 108. ἀνδρὸς—διατετριφότης om. W., as does Cobet on the ground that such a description of Solon before an Athenian audience is *perinepta*; cp. § 257. It is very difficult to say what ornamental surplusage an Orator might think in place. It is Aeschines' cue here to dwell much on the piety and justifiableness of the war; and to make that clear he may have

thought it well to emphasize the character of Solon however familiar to his hearers.

In 1878 W. brackets 'Αθηναίου.

§ 109. τὴν πόλιν [αὐτῶν]. W. omits. καὶ φωνῇ. BS. bracket.

§ 110. [μόνον] τὸν ὄρκον. W. omits, the mss. varying the order.

§ 111. [τέκνα] τίκτειν. W. omits, the mss. varying the order.

ἦτταν δὲ [αὐτοῖς] εἶναι. W. omits, the mss. varying the order.

§ 114. δισχιλίας. BS. χιλίας.

ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου. W. ἢ ἰδιώτου.

§ 115. Λέκκιον 'of the deme Leccum' (Hesych.), a conjecture of F. A. Wolf for the ms. Λέσβιον. But three mss. have ἐξ Οἴου, by which name two Attic demes were known; and it might perhaps be safer to take this. ἱερομνήμονα [Διόγνητον]. W. omits.

§ 116. ἐξηγγέλλετο. W. ἐξήγγελο. The imperfect however better expresses that the information came from several persons. Cp. § 65.

ἐπέγραψεν. W. for the mss. ἐπεγράψαμεν. Schultz retains ἐπεγράψαμεν, but then he reads ἀνέθεμεν for ἀνέθηκε, three mss. giving ἀνέθεκε. But ἀνέθηκε is supported by Harpocration (s. v. ἐξαράσασθαι); and it is harsh to have such a change of person in verbs coupled so closely.

§ 118. ἐπῆλθε δέ μοι ἐπὶ τὴν γνώμην. W. ἐπῆει δ' οὖν μοι. Baier wished to omit ἐπὶ τὴν γνώμην. ἐπῆει is in four mss. οὖν in A.

τῆς τῶν Ἀμφισσέων περὶ τὴν ἱερὰν ἀσεβείας. W. τῆς τῶν Ἀμφισσέων παρανομίας. There is a variant in the mss. of παρανομίας for ἀσεβείας: but W.'s deduction is a bold one. He says παρανομίας = ἀσεβείας. But is it definite enough?

Κιρραῖον. W. Κρισαῖον as before.

§ 119. πεπρακότας. Hamaker for πεπραχότας of the mss. I have admitted this conjecture with some hesitation. Both words might be explained and defended. But perhaps the perfect best applies to the past action of the 'selling the customs,' the effect of which still remains, whereas 'you know that they have exacted' might mean that they have ceased to do so, which is contradicted by λαμβάνοντας.

§ 120. [τοῖς βωμοῖς] τὰ θύματα om. W., as the mss. vary the order.

§ 121. [τούτους] παρέντες om. W., the mss. varying the order.

καὶ τελευταῖον. W. καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον.

ἐν τῇ ἀρᾷ γέγραπται. Hamaker would omit, and it certainly seems like a gloss. W. brackets.

§ 122. ἦκειν ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. W. ἦκειν εἰς αὔριον, the mss. varying between ἦκειν αὔριον and αὔριον ἦκειν. But according to his usual principle it is αὔριον he should have omitted: and it is that word which seems to me to be the gloss. Both Schultz and Franke omit αὔριον.

τὸ Θυτεῖον. Harpocration has Θύστιον, but says that he has seen it written Θύτιον.

§ 124. ἐκκλησίαν γὰρ—θεῶ bracketed by W. and Herwerden as an unnecessary explanation. But I doubt whether this proceeding was very common.

ἐνταῦθ' ἦδη. W. ἐνταῦθα δῆ. One ms. ἐνταῦθα δέ.

πολὺς δ' ἔπαινος [ἦν]. W. omits, though it is in nearly all mss. He does not say why.

§ 125. ἐκφέρεται προβούλευμα [εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν] om. W. after Dobree.

§ 126. ἦδη ἐπαναστάσεως τῆς ἐκκλησίας om. W. after Dobree. B has ἐπ' ἀναστάσει τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

καὶ τῶν πολλῶν δέ. W. καὶ τῶν πλείστων δῆ: cp. § 115.

§ 127. τῶν Ἀθηναίων. W. τὸν.

πρὸς ἡδονὴν λεγόμενον. W. λέγειν. There is no need for the change.

§ 129. κατελθόντας διὰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων om. W. The mss. have καὶ κατελθόντας.

§ 131. ἄξιος [εἶ]. W. omits, the mss. varying the order, and adds σὺ before ἄξιος.

§ 133. περὶ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατάληψιν om. W. with Dobree.

§ 135. μέγ' ἐπήγαγε πῆμα. BS. μέγα πῆμα δῶκε.

ἀποτίνυται. BS. ἀποτίννυται.

§ 137. οὐ...οὐ...οὐ. W. οὐ...οὐδὲ...οὐδὲ.

§ 140. τὸν αὐτὸν πόλεμον. W. omits with Mead, Taylor, Herwerden; but restores in 1878.

[ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις] διεσκευασμένοι. W. omits.



§ 141. εἰς τὰς Θήβας—Δημοσθένης. W. brackets in 1878.

§ 142. [μόνον] εἰ. W. brackets in 1878.

ἀπὸ Θεβαίων om. W. But there seems to me an especial point in the words. Aeschines accuses Demosthenes of flattering the Thebans by speaking of them instead of 'Boeotians'—as though they were the head of the confederacy. W. restores the words in 1878.

§ 144. τὰ τούτου. W. αὐτοῦ from B. The latter is perhaps the more natural, but the former is the more vituperative.

§ 146. ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος om. W.

ἐκ τοῦ στρατηγίου om. W., to my mind spoiling the antithesis. Cobet inserts πάντων before στρατηγῶν. W. inserts in ( ).

§ 149. πρὸς Φίλιππον om. W.

ὥς [ᾤετο, τοῦτο] om. W.

§ 151. [τοὺς Βοιωτάρχας] ἀπεκάλεσε om. W., owing to the mss. varying the order. ἀπεκάλει A<sup>h</sup> W. But it is not to be supposed that he *went on* calling them προδοταί.

[Θηβαίους] δίοδον om. W. But again he emphasises the fact that, looking on the Boeotarchs as traitors, he proposed to ask the *Thebans* this favour.

ἀπετράποντο. BS. ἀπετρέποντο.

§ 152. W. 1878 brackets καὶ ἀκαλλιερήτων and καὶ λελοιπόσι τὴν τάξιν.

τῶν τετελευτηκότων om. W. A has τελευτησάντων.

καὶ συναποθανεῖται. W. ἧ, which I think spoils the sense. 'And will you endure it, if Ctesiphon makes the proposal, and will your memory die along with the dead?' i.e. will you forget his misdoings? But what ἧ can mean I do not know. He restores καὶ in 1878.

§ 154. ἐλευθερίως. Cobet, W. for mss. ἐλευθέρως.

§ 156. καὶ τέκνα. W. καὶ τέλχη.

§ 158. πόλις [γάρ] om. W. A and B reverse.

ιδιώτης [ἀνὴρ] om. W. as A and B reverse.

§ 159. After ἐκ τῆς πόλεως W. marks lacuna with Reiske.

κατὰ μὲν τοὺς πρώτους χρόνους. Taylor om. W. brackets.

§ 160. μὲν Φίλιππος. W. ὁ μὲν Φίλιππος, not necessary, see on § 53.

εἰς αἰτίαν δὲ [εὐαγγελίων θυσίας] τὴν βουλὴν κατέστησεν. W. om. and reads εἰς αἰτίαν δὲ τὴν Ἀθηναίων βουλήν. Might we

read εὐαγγέλια θύσας? But even if εὐαγγελίων θυσίας is a gloss, and it looks suspicious, there is no warrant for the insertion of Ἀθηναίων, nor is it necessary.

§ 162. διαφέρων [γενόμενος] omitted in one ms. and certainly intolerable. Bake conjectures ὀρφανὸς γενόμενος.

πράττων ἢ πάσχων. W. omits, as A and B reverse the order.

§ 163. τι τούτων. W. τοι οὕτως. A has τοι, B τι.

αὐτῷ. BS. αὐτῶ.

σαυτοῦ. BS. αὐτοῦ.

§ 166. σιδήρειοι. Cob. σιδήροι.

ἀνατετμήκασι...δήμον. W. brackets in 1878.

§ 167. χρυσοῖς στεφάνοις στεφανοῦσθαι. W. χρυσοῦς στεφάνους. A χρυσοῦς στεφάνους ἀξιώσεις στεφανοῦσθαι.

§ 168. τῶν λόγων [αὐτοῦ]. W. omits, as A and B reverse.

§ 169. ὁμολογῆσαι [ὑμᾶς]. W. omits, as A and B reverse. Many MSS. have ὁμολογήσειν, for which see on Dem. *de Cor.* 147. Goodw. *M. and T.* § 208.

ἐλεύθερον [αὐτόν] om. W. as A and B reverse the order.

§ 170. καὶ τοὺς πολέμους om. W. A<sup>h</sup> have τοὺς κινδύνους.

§ 172. γίνονται [αὐτῷ] om. W. as A<sup>h</sup> and B reverse the order.

τοῦ πρὸς μητρὸς om. A<sup>h</sup> and W.

αὐτοῦ [τῶν προγόνων]. Herwerden omits.

§ 173. ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. W. πολιτείας from Nicolas Dam. 4, 166 and A<sup>h</sup>.

§ 174. δεινὸς...κακὸς. BS. δεινῶς...κακῶς.

§ 175. εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ δειλίας γραφαί. W. omits with Bake. The words I think should not be omitted: for δειλία was a specific charge, one of several which were included in the general indictment known as γραφὴ λιποταξίου. See note.

§ 176. καὶ οὐκ ἐᾷ. W. οὐκ οὖν ἐᾷ. I do not see the improvement.

§ 177. [ταύτας] δωρεὰς. W. omits, as the mss. reverse the order.

§ 178. τότε [ἦσαν] πλείους. W. omits, as the mss. reverse the order.

τὰ καλὰ. W. τὰ τοιαῦτα. See note.

§ 179. οὐδείς ἂν ποτ' ἠθέλησεν [ἐπασκεῖν]. W. οὐδ' εἰς ἂν ποτ' ἠθέλησεν.

§ 180. τὸ. W. omits before all these adjectives.

ἐκ τῆς νίκης. W. εἶναι τὸ νικᾶν.

§ 181. ὅτε τῇ Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίᾳ τὸν Πέρσῃν ἐνικάτε. W. brackets and reads ὅτ' ἐν τῇ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα. He removes the brackets in 1878.

ἔτι δὲ...καταγαγόντες. W. brackets after Markland.

Ἀριστείδης δ' [ὁ δίκαιος]. W. om., A adds ἐπικαλούμενος.

§ 182. οἱ μὴ τετιμημένοι. W. om. after Herwerden.

§ 186. [πρώτῳ] γραφῆναι. W. om., as the mss. reverse.

§ 187. [αὐτοῖς] εἰς θυσίαν. W. om., as the mss. reverse.

ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ om. W.

§ 188. παρανάγνωθι. W. παράγνωθι δὴ.

§ 189. Φιλάμμωνά [φησι]. W. omits. Many mss. have φασί.

§ 191. ὡς ἐγώ. W. υἱὸς ἐγώ.

οὕς πολλάκις. Markl. mss. ὅς. W. ὥστε. Markland's change makes the sentence a little less intolerable. But I do not think that we have got it right yet. I cannot admit W.'s υἱὸς nor his ὥστε. In 1878 he omits ὥστε and reads ἀπάντων δὲ μετασχὼν πολλάκις.

§ 193. ὑμῖν. BS. omit.

§ 195. αὐτῷ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς. The mss. vary the order of αὐτῷ. So W. omits all three words.

οὕτω νῦν μένοντας ἐξελαύνειν [παρὰ τοὺς νόμους γράφοντά τι]. W. κατελθόντας. He omits the words bracketed because their order is reversed in the mss.

ἀπὸ Φυλῆς [Θρασύβουλος]. W. brackets 1878.

§ 196. τοῖς παράνομα. W. τοὺς τὰ παράνομα.

§ 197. τὸ δὲ δεύτερον [ὑδωρ]. W. omits, very probably with justice.

§ 198. [ὑμᾶς] τὴν πρώτην. W. omits, as the mss. reverse the order.

§ 199. μόνον τῶν παρανόμων. W. μόναις ταῖς τῶν παρανόμων. ταῖς τῶν is his conj. μόναις is in one ms. One ms. has ταῖς, most τῶν, none ταῖς τῶν.

τὴν γραφὴν [τῶν παρανόμων]. W. omits.

§ 201. αὐτῷ. BS. αὐτῷ.

τὰς δικαίας. BS. τὰς οὐ δικαίας.



§ 202. κακοῦργον ἄνθρωπον. W. omits, cp. § 16. A<sup>h</sup> have σοφιστήν.

In 1878 W. brackets οἶόμενον—ἀναιρήσειν.

§ 203. καὶ ὑπομνήσω. W. καὶ τοῦθ'.

τῶν δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων. W. (1878) τῶν ἀδικημάτων τῶν δημοσίων.

ἔχων [λέγειν] om. W. A<sup>h</sup> and B varying the order.

§ 205. βούλεται om. W. Many mss. have βούλοιτ' ἂν. If βούλεται is to be omitted in either clause, I think it is in the latter of the two.

§ 206. τοὺς τοῦ πράγματος λόγους. W. τοῦ παρανόμου with A<sup>h</sup>.

αὐτοῦ [τῶν λόγων] om. W.

§ 208. πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς. Dobr. omits.

ὦν...ὑπάρχον. Cob. would omit, W. brackets.

§ 210. ὁ δ' ἄγων οὐκ ἀτίμητος. W. omits, I hope rightly: still it is difficult to see how it came into the text: it explains nothing, and involves some difficulties.

§ 211. [ἐπένθησε καὶ] ἐκέρατο. W. omits, as the mss. reverse the order.

§ 212. τῶν Μειδίου. W. brackets in 1878.

οὐ κεφαλὴν. W. adds ἀλλὰ κεφάλαιον οὐδὲ πρόσωπον ἀλλὰ πρόσodon, from the conjecture of Toup and Westermann.

§ 217. εἶναι βουλοίμην. W. ἐβουλόμην. Bekker noticed the absence of ἂν. If βουλοίμην stands, ἂν must be supplied from the next clause. W. in 1878 ἂν εἶναι βουλοίμην.

§ 218. ἃ βούλει. W. ἂν βούλη. A needless uniformity I think; the meaning of βούλει is quite indefinite enough.

§ 219. ταῦτό. Cob. ταῦτόν. But see Meisterh. p. 122, 9, 10.

§ 220. δημηγορεῖ Bekk. conj., BS. κατηγορεῖ.

§ 223—4. W. κατεσκευάσας...διεστρέβλωσας...γράψας. But in 1878, διαστρεβλώσας...γράψας.

καὶ παρὰ τῷ αὐτῷ...κατήγου. W. παρ' ᾧ ποτ'—κατηγάγου. In 1878 παρ' ᾧ καὶ ποτ'.

τῆς αὐτῆς τραπέξης ἔφαγες. W. ᾧ ἔφαγες, but omits ᾧ in 1878.

ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ ξένον ποιούμενος· καὶ om. W. A has κατ' ἀνδρὸς φίλου καὶ ξένου.

ὁ δῆμος. W. καὶ ὁ δῆμος.

§ 225. [ἐν τῇ πόλει] νεωτερίζειν. W. omits, as the mss. A<sup>h</sup> and B reverse the order.

ἀ ἐπιτηδεύσας... ἂν ἐγένετο. W. ἄττ' ἂν... ἐγένετο.

§ 228. ἀγανακτῶ μάλιστα. W. δεῖ (ἄξιον in 1878) καὶ μάλιστα ἀγανακτεῖν.

καὶ γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνων οὐ κηλεῖσθαι φησι. W. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων φθαῖς φησιν οὐ κηλεῖσθαι. In 1878 καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων φωνῇ οὐ κηλεῖσθαι.

§ 229. οὗ τὴν γλῶτταν. W. οὗ γε.

§ 230. εὐθυναί. BS. εὐθῶναι.

§ 231. ἄνδρον [αὐτὸν] εἶναι om. W., A<sup>h</sup> and B reversing the order.

§ 232. οὐ κυκλίων χορῶν κριταί. W. οὐ κριταί χορῶν. The mss. have ἐγκυκλίων.

κριταί καθεστηκότες. BS. omit κριταί.

§ 233. αὐτὸς τὴν. W. from A<sup>h</sup> τὴν αὐτός.

δι' αὐτὸν... ἀμάρτημα. W. omits after Bake.

τὴ γὰρ ψῆφος ἀφανῆς φέρεται. W. omits after Bake.

§ 234. φορὰ [καθ' ἡμᾶς]. W. omits, as the mss. reverse the order.

πρότερον μὲν [γὰρ]. W. γε, but restores γὰρ in 1878.

κατέλυσαν τὸν δῆμον. W. κατεκλήλησαν. Some mss. have κατέλευσαν.

ἐνεχείριζε. W. (1878) ἐνεκεχείρικε (?).

§ 235. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν B. W. ἔνιοι δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν. A<sup>h</sup> δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ αὐτοὶ.

ταφὰς καὶ. W. brackets (1878).

μémνησθ'. W. after Cobet μεμνήσεσθ'.

[πρότερον] τῇ. W. brackets (1878).

§ 236. ὁμολογησαίμην. W. ἀναλογισαίμην from A<sup>h</sup>.

στεφανῶσαι. W. στεφανοῦσθαι. A<sup>h</sup> στεφανωθῆναι.

λέγεις. W. 1878 [λέξεις].

τὰς [δημοσίας] ταφὰς. W. omits, as the mss. vary the order. In 1878 he accepts Cobet's emendation τοὺς τάφους.

§ 238. ἐνέγραψεν. BS. ἐνέγραψεν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ.

§ 241. λέγοντα εἰς ὑμᾶς. W. omits.

ἐγκωμιάσει. W. after Cobet ἐγκωμιάζειν.

§ 242. ποιήσαι. W. ποιήσει after Bekker.

συναχθεσόμενος. Cobet. BS. with mss. συναχθησόμενος.

§ 243. ἅμα [σοι]. W. omits, as the mss. reverse the order.

ἀπέκτεινε. W. (1872) διέφθειρε, (1878) ἀνείλε.

§ 244. Δημοσθέnei δ' ἐάν τις ἐρωτᾷ διὰ τί οὐ δώσετε; ὅτι...  
W. (1872) Δημοσθέnei δ' αὖ, ὅτι... (1878) Δημοσθέnei διὰ τί;  
ὅτι...

§ 245. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἐὰν ἐπερωτῶσιν. W. καὶ τὸ μέγιστον  
ἐπερωτῶσιν. ἐὰν is omitted in A. καὶ τὸ is given in A<sup>h</sup>.

τί κρινεῖτε; W. omits with A<sup>h</sup>.

§ 246. τὰ δημόσια [κρηρύγματα]. W. omits. A<sup>h</sup> has δίκαια.

διεφθάρη. W. διέφθαρται.

νουθετεῖν [ἐνταῦθα] ἐνοχλεῖν. W. omits as the mss. vary  
the order of the two last words.

ἤδη [καὶ] δικαίως. W. omits with several mss.

§ 247. θεωρούμενοι. W. θεωροῦντες, and marks a lacuna,  
with BS.

§ 249. [ξενικῶν] στεφάνων. W. omits after Benseler.

ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν om. W.

§ 250. ἢ οὐ δεινὸν [δοκεῖ ὑμῖν εἶναι] εἰ. W. omits. For εἰ  
he gives ὅτι with A<sup>h</sup>.

§ 252. τὰς ἀτυχίας τῆς πόλεως. W. ἀτυχία τῇ πόλει,  
with A<sup>h</sup>.

[ὅς] ἐκπλεῖν om. W. and adds μόνον with two mss.

ἐκπλεύσας [ιδιώτης]. W. omits, as A<sup>h</sup> and B reverse the  
order of the words.

εἰσηγγέλθη [καὶ ἵσαι αἱ ψήφοι αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο]. W. omits,  
the mss. reversing the order.

§ 256. [πρεσβεύσας] ἐξελεσθαι τοῦ Φιλίππου. W. omits,  
as the mss. reverse the order; and gives τῶν with two mss.  
for τοῦ.

§ 257. ἄνδρα φιλόσοφον καὶ νομοθέτην ἀγαθόν. W omits.  
Cp. § 108.



## INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

- Ἀἰγνιεύς, ὁ, [sc. Ἀριστοφῶν] 139, 194  
 Ἀθηνᾶ 46, 77, 150, 219;  
 Ἀθηνᾶ Προναία 108, 110, 111, 121  
 Ἀθήναζε 98, 114. Ἀθήνησι 26, 91, 114. Ἀθηναῖος [Σόλων] 108. ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι 1, 2, 6, 8, 12, 13, 16, 25, 33, 34, 40, 58, 75, 77, 85, 105, 107, 128, 177, 183, 186, 199, 209, 230, 234, 236, 244, 246, 247. ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι 177, 209, 211. ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων 90, 116, 117, 120, 155, 156, 209, 237, 258. ἐν μέρει τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων 4; Ἀθηναίους εἶναι γράφειν 85; Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Μήδων 116; τὸν αὐτὸν Ἀθηναίους φίλον καὶ ἐχθρὸν νομίζειν 100; Ἀθηναίους βοηθεῖν Βοιωτοῖς 142; ἡ Ἀθηναίων βουλὴ 160; Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἐν Νάξῳ ναυμαχίαν Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Πόλλιν ἐνίκησαν 222; ἐξ ἀπάσης (πόλεως) ἧς Ἀθηναῖοι ἄρχουσιν 258; ἐκκλησιαζόντων Ἀθηναίων 204; οὐδὲν αἰεὶς Ἀθηναίοισι καλεῖσθαι κοσμητὰς πολέμου 185; ἡγεμόνεσσι δὲ μισθὸν Ἀθηναῖοι τὰδ' ἔδωκαν 184  
 Ἀθως 132  
 Ἀκαρῆνες 97, 256  
 Ἀκαρνανία 97, 98  
 Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μολοττῶν βασιλεὺς 242  
 Ἀλέξανδρος (king of Macedonia) before his accession 219; his accession 160; his invasion of Asia 163, 164, 165, 238. Demosthenes calls him *Margites* 160; charges Aeschines with subservience to him 216, 219; rejoices at his difficulties 164; Demosthenes' hostility to him 163, 167, 223; who yet corresponded with him secretly 162. Embassy of Lacedaemonians to 133  
 Ἀλόνησος 83  
 Ἀμεινιάδης 130  
 Ἀμφικτύονες, their war with the Cirrhaeans 107, 108, 109, 112; with the Amphisians 115, 116, 118, 122, 124, 128—9. ἐν τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι 114; ἐκκλησία τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων 124; ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀμφικτύονες 119  
 Ἀμφίπολις 54  
 Ἀμφισσα 125, 147  
 Ἀμφισσεῖς 113—124, 128—9, 146, 221, 237  
 Ἀμφιτρίτη 112  
 Ἀναγυράσιος, ὁ, [Μειδίας] 115  
 Ἀναξίνος 223  
 Ἀναφλύστιος, ὁ, [Πύρρανδρος] 139; [Διογνητος] 115

Ἀντίπατρος 72, 165  
 Ἀπόλλων 110, 111, 121; ὁ Πύθιος 108  
 Ἄρειος πάγος. ἐγράψατο εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον 51; ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλή 252; ἡ βουλή ἡ ἐξ Ἀρ. 20; ἡ βουλή ἡ ἐν Ἀρ. 20  
 Ἄρης 184  
 Ἀρθμιος ὁ Ζελεΐτης 258  
 Ἀριστείδης 258  
 Ἀριστίων ὁ τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου υἱός 162  
 Ἀριστόβουλος 162  
 Ἀριστόδημος 83  
 Ἀριστοφῶν ὁ Ἀζηγιεύς 139, 194  
 Ἀρκαῶδες 240  
 Ἀρκαδία 165  
 Ἀρτεμις 108, 110, 111, 121  
 Ἀρχέδημος ὁ Πήληξ 139  
 Ἀρχίνος ὁ ἐκ Κοίλης 187, 195  
 Ἀσία 163, 238, 250  
 Ἀτρεΐδαι 185  
 Ἀχαιοί 95, 165  
 Ἀχαρνεύς, ὁ, [Λεωδάμας] 138  
 Βοιωτάρχαι 145, 149, 151  
 Βοιωτία 142  
 Βοιωτοί 140, 142; Βοιωτοὶ οἱ ἐν Θήβαις 142  
 Βόσπορος 171  
 Βυζάντιοι 256  
 Γανίς 82  
 Γάνος 82  
 Γλαυκέτης 91  
 Γλαῦκος (πύκτης) 189  
 Γνωσίδημος 103—4  
 Γύλων ἐκ κεραμέων 171

Δαναοί 185  
 Δαρεῖος 164  
 Δελφοί (the Delphians) 122  
 Δελφοί (Delphi) 106, 107, 113, 115, 123, 126, 130, 132  
 Δημομέλης 51  
 Δημοσθένης (father of the Orator) 171—2

Δημοσθένης ὁ τὴν τάξιν λιπᾶν 181; ὁ περιττὸς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις 172; ὁ μισοφίλιππος 66; ὁ μισοτύραννος 92. τὴν τοῦ Δ., δωροδοκίαν 214; see also 14, 23, 24, 60, 202, 205, 208, 212, 214, 218

Διόγνητος 115  
 Διόδωρος ὁ δολιχοδρομήσας 91  
 Διονύσια, ἐπειδὴ παρεληλύθει τὰ 69; τὰ Δ. ἐν ἄστει 68; τοὺς κριτὰς τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Δ. 232  
 Διονυσιακὸς νόμος 35  
 Διόνυσος, τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Δ. 176; ὀρχήστρα τοῦ Δ. 156; ἐν Διονύσου 52

Ἑλάτεια 140  
 Ἑλλάς 58, 128, 131, 133, 134, 157, 158, 258  
 Ἑλλην 117, 154  
 Ἑλληνικὸν συνέδριον 58  
 Ἑλλησποντος 51; ὁ τὸν Ἑ. ζεύξας 132  
 Ἑμπέδων 91  
 Ἑπώνυμοι, οἱ 39  
 Ἑργίσκη 82  
 Ἑρετρία 94, 100, 103  
 Ἑρετριεύς 85, 100  
 Ἑρμῆς, λίθινος 183—5; στοὰ τῶν Ἑρμῶν 183  
 Ἑρχιεύς 138  
 Εὐβοεῖς 84, 237  
 Εὐβοία 85—7, 89, 95, 221  
 Εὐβοικὸν συνέδριον 89, 94  
 Εὐβουλος 25  
 Εὐμολπίδαι 18  
 Εὐριπος 90  
 Εὐρύβατος 137  
 Εὐρώπη 250

Ζελεΐτης, ὁ, [Ἀρθμιος] 258  
 Ζεὺς 135, 156; παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς 77; νῆ Δία 172, 217; Ὀλύμπιος 255

Ἠγήμων 25

- Ἡών 184  
 Ἡλεῖοι 165  
 Ἡρα 219  
 Ἡρακλῆς 21, 212  
 Ἡσιόδος 134, 136  
  
 Θαργηλιών 27  
 Θεμιστοκλῆς (Archon in B. C. 347) 62  
 Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ στρατηγῆσας (at Salamis) 181, 259  
 Θεμισίων 85  
 Θεόφραστος 115  
 Θερσίτης 231  
 Θετταλία 83  
 Θετταλοί 140, 161, 167  
 Θῆβαι 76, 133, 140—1, 145, 148, 150—1  
 Θηβαῖοι 84—5, 116, 137, 156, 239, 240  
 Θησεῖον 13  
 Θράκη 61, 65, 73  
 Θρασύβουλος 195  
 Θράσων 138  
  
 Ἰλιάς 100  
 Ἰφικράτης 243  
  
 Καδμεία 145  
 Καλκιδεύς 86, 89, 94  
 Καλλίας 85—6, 89, 92—4, 100—1, 103—4, 195  
 Κεραμεῖς 171  
 Κέρκυρα 243  
 Κερσοβλέπτης 61, 65, 74  
 Κέφαλος 194  
 Κήρυκες 18  
 Κηφισόδοτος 51  
 Κιθαιρών 161  
 Κιλικία 164  
 Κιρραῖοι 107—8. τὸ Κιρραῖον πεδῖον 118, 123  
 Κλείταρχος 103  
 Κλεοπάτρα 242  
 Κλεοφῶν 150  
 Κοίλη 187, 195  
 Κολλύτεύς, ὁ, [Θρασύβουλος] 138  
 Κόρραγος 165  
  
 Κόττυφος 124, 128  
 Κοτύλαιον ὄρος 86  
 Κραγαλίδαι 107—8  
 Κρονίων 135  
 Κρωβύλος 118  
 Κτησιφῶν 26, 33, 36, 53, 105, 242  
  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι 133, 150, 165, 187, 222, 243  
 Λακωνικά, τὰ 167  
 Λεωδάμας 138  
 Λητώ 108, 110, 111, 121  
 Λοκροί 113, 123  
 Λυκῖνος 62  
  
 Μακεδόνες 73  
 Μακεδονία 73, 78, 83, 89, 128, 160  
 Μαραθών 181, 186, 259  
 Μαργίτης 160  
 Μεγάλη πόλις 165  
 Μεγαρεῖς 95  
 Μειδίας 115  
 Μενεσθεύς 185  
 Μῆδοι 116, 183—4, 258—9  
 Μιλτιάδης 181, 186  
 Μνήσαρχος 85  
 Μολοττοί 242  
 Μυργίσκη 82  
  
 Νάξος 222, 243  
 Ναυσικλῆς 159  
 Νίκαια 140  
 Νύμφαιον 171  
  
 Ὀλύμπια 179  
 Ὀλυμπίασι 189  
 Ὀλύμπιος Ζεὺς 255  
 Ὀμηρος 185, 231  
  
 Παιανιεύς 51, 171—2  
 Πανδιονὺς φυλή 31  
 Παντακίων 189  
 Πάραλοι 162  
 Πausanias 160, 219  
 Πειθώ 256  
 Πειραιεύς 209  
 Πέλλα 160



- Πελληνεῖς 165  
 Πελοποννήσιοι 97  
 Πελοπόννησος 95  
 Περραιβοί 167  
 Πέρσης 132, 181; βασιλεὺς  
 τῶν Περσῶν 132, 163, 238  
 Περσικὴ ἵππος 164  
 Πήληξ 192  
 Πλαταιαί 259  
 Πλαταϊκός 162  
 Πλούταρχος 86  
 Πνύξ 34  
 Πόλλις 222  
 Πόντος 171  
 Προναία 109, 110, 111, 121  
 Πυθία, ἡ 108, 130  
 Πύθιος Ἀπόλλων 108; τὰ Πύθια  
 254  
 Πύλαι 80, 126, 128  
  
 Ῥόδιος 42  
 Ῥόδος 252  
  
 Σαλαμίς 158, 181  
 Σάμος 152  
 Σειρήνες 228  
 Σκύθης 128—9, 172  
 Σκύθις 172  
 Σόλων 2, 108, 175, 257  
 Στειριεύς, ὁ, [Θρασύβουλος] 195  
 Στρατοκλῆς 143  
 Στρυμών 183—4  
  
 Ταμῦναι 86, 88  
 Ταυροσθένης 85, 87  
 Τρωικὸν πεδίων 185  
  
 Φαρσάλιος 128  
 Φειδίας 150  
 Φιλάμμων 189  
 Φίλιππος sends a herald to  
 Athens 63; ambassadors  
 from 67; league attempted  
 against 68; attacked by  
 Demosthenes 81, 223; his  
 supposed hostility to Athens  
 215; his intrigues at By-  
 zantium 256  
 Φιλοκράτης 54, 74, 81  
 Φρυνώνδας 137  
 Φυλή 181, 187, 190, 195, 208  
 Φωκεύς 80, 118  
 Φωκικὸς πόλεμος 148; ξένος 87  
 Φωκίς 140  
  
 Χαβρίας 243  
 Χαιρώνδας 27  
 Χαιρώνεια 55, 187  
 Χαλκιδεύς 86, 89, 92  
 Χαλκίς 89, 91, 94, 103  
 Χαριγένης 103  
  
 Ὀρείτης 223; Ὀρεῖται 100—1,  
 103—5  
 Ὀρεός 94, 100, 103, 224  
 Ὀρωπός 85

## INDEX TO THE NOTES.

- ἀγανακτεῖν 147  
 ἀγαπᾶν 142, 147, 160  
 ἄγειν εἰρήνην 55  
 ἀγένητος 225  
 ἀγνωμοσύνη 153  
 ἀγορά, ἡ 1; of demes and  
     phylae 27; ἀγοραί public  
     speeches 111  
 ἀγορεύειν, τίς βούλεται; 4  
 ἀγωνίζεσθαι 134  
 ἀγωνοθέται 180  
 ἀδαμάντινος 84  
 ἀεργία, ἐπὶ πάσῃ 108  
 ἀηδία 72, 164  
 ἀθύτων τῶν ἱερῶν 131, 152  
 αἶθων 184  
 αἰρεῖν 'prove' 59; 'convict'  
     156  
 αἰρετοί 13, 30  
 αἰσχρῶς 218  
 ἀκαιρία 211  
 ἀκαλλιερέτων 131  
 ἀκροασόμενοι 201  
 ἀλαζονεία 237, 256  
 ἀλαζόνες 99  
 ἄλας τῆς πόλεως 224  
 ἀλιτήριος 131, 157  
 ἀλλ' οὖν γε 11  
 ἄλλοθι 48  
 ἀλῶσεται 50  
 ἀμηχανία 184  
 ἀμπελουργεῖν 166  
 ἀμφί 184  
 ἀναβοᾶν πρῶτος 202  
 ἀναγκαιότατος 169  
 ἀνάγκη, ἐξ 126  
 ἀναγράφειν 37  
 ἀναίρειν 40  
 ἀναλώσας κέκραγας 218  
 ἀναπέμπεσθαι 133  
 ἀναπέτομαι 209  
 ἀναπηδᾶν 173  
 ἀναποδίζειν 192  
 ἀναρπάζειν 133, 146  
 ἀναρρηθῆναι 45  
 ἀναστρέφειν 150  
 ἀνατέμνειν 166  
 ἀνατίθημι 143, 231, 237  
 ἀναφαίνεσθαι 81, 173  
 ἀνδρεῖον 170  
 ἀνθεστηριῶν 98  
 ἀνθρώπινος βίος 132  
 ἄνθρωπος 99, 157, 159  
 ἀντιβλέπειν 151  
 ἀντιγραφεὺς 25  
 ἀντιδιαπλέκειν 28  
 ἀξίωμα 237  
 ἀξίωσις 220  
 ἀπαγγέλλειν 63  
 ἀπάγειν 'divert' 100; 'arrest'  
     150  
 ἀπαγορεύειν μὴ 10, 35  
 ἀπαιδευσία 241  
 ἀπαιδεύτως 238  
 ἀπαλλάσσω 158  
 ἀπαντᾶν 53, 69, 198  
 ἀπαράσκευος 146  
 ἀπας ὢν 101  
 ἀπαυράω 135  
 ἀπειλημένος 164  
 ἀπελευθερία 41  
 ἀπέρχομαι 59

ἀπεχθάνεσθαι 172

ἀπήεσαν 76

ἀπλοῦς 50

ἀπό of the agent, 98. ἀπ' εἰσαγγελίας κρινόμενος 52; ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν πολιτευμάτων 79; ἀπὸ Μήδων 116; ἀφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν 156; τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς 172

ἀποβλέπειν 168, 214, 230, 256

ἀπογνώτω 60

ἀποδείκνυμι 45

ἀποδεκταί 25

ἀποδημεῖν 21, 68

ἀποδιδράσκω 55, 226, 253

ἀποδοῦναι 40; λόγον 54; τοὺς ὅρκους 74; ἀπέδωκε συνιδεῖν 75; ἀπέδοτο τριάκοντα μνῶν 52; ἀποδοθέντος 125

ἀπόθεσθε 255

ἀποκληροῦν 13

ἀποκρίνομαι 224

ἀπολαβεῖν λόγον 168

ἀπολογία, δικαία 202

ἀπολογίζεσθαι 25

ἀπολογισμὸν, εἰς 247

ἀπομνημονεύειν 16, 48, 57, 85

ἀποπέμπειν 235, 253

ἀπορρήτων, διὰ 96

ἀπορώτατος 203

ἀποστερεῖν 239

ἀπούσης βουλῆς 45

ἀποφαίνεσθαι 134

ἀποψηφίζεσθαι 230

ἀπροσδόκητος 159

ἄπτομαι 101, 193, 237

ἄρα incredulity 13, 60; εἰ ἄρα 162; introducing the words of another 137; ἂν ἄρα 193, 202

ἄράμενοι κίνδυνον 190

ἀργυρολογεῖν 159

ἄρκτου, ἔξω τῆς 165

ἀρνείσθαι μή 175

ἀρπάζειν τὴν φιλοτιμίαν 23

ἀρχή 13; ἀρχὴν 117; τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιεῖσθαι 236

ἄρχων (marking date) 62

ἀσέλγεια 170

ἀστεφάνωτος 176

ἀστράτευτος 175

ἀσυκοφάντητος 216

ἀσχημονεῖν 246

asyndeton 157

ἀτίμητος 210

ἀτυχήματα 169

αὐθημερὸν λόγων, τῶν 208

αὔλια 119

αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον 62

αὐτοὶ alone 72; αὐτά 155; τὸν αὐτὸν Ἀθηναίους φίλον καὶ ἔχθρὸν νομίζειν 100

αὐτόματον 167

αὐτομολεῖν 75

αὐτοσχεδιάζειν 158

ἀφελῶν 101, 237

ἀφιστάναι 167

ἀφοσιῶ 120

βαλαντιοτόμος 207

βάρβαρος 172

βάσανος 225

βασιλικὸν χρυσίον 156, 173, 209

βεβαίωσις 249

βελόνας διεύρουσι 166

βῆμα 173; τοῦ κατηγοροῦ 207, 257

βίος 173

βλέπειν εἰς τὰ πρόσωπα 137, 151, 152, 250

βοηθήσοντες 86; βοηθῶν 169

βουθυτεῖν 77

βουλευέσθαι μετὰ τῶν συμφύτων νοσημάτων 81

βουλόμενος, ὁ 2, 220

βραχέων, διὰ 60, 69

βραχὺς λόγος 175

burials, public 152

γε emphatic 189

γένεσθε τὴν διάνοιαν 153

γένη, τὰ 18

genitive after comparative for ἢ with dative 47

γέρα, τὰ 18



- γλῶττα 229  
 γνώμη = ψήφισμα 3; γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι 2  
 γόης 137, 207  
 γράμματα δημόσια 75  
 γραμματεὺς of the *logistae* 15; of the *Boulē* 16  
 γράφειν εἶναι 85  
 γράφεσθαι 217  
 γραφὴν παρανόμων δικάζειν 6; τὴν γραφὴν ἀλίσκεσθαι 50; γραφὴν τραύματος 51; τὴν γραφὴν ὁ φεύγων 204  
 γυμνάσια 216  
 δαιμονίου τινὸς προαγομένου 117  
 dative of agent 243  
 δέ place of 96—7  
 δέσεις 1; ξένων δεήσεις 7  
 δειλός, δειλία 175  
 δῆ, καὶ εἰ 155; δῆ with imperative 170  
 δημαγωγός 78  
 δημιουργὸς λόγων 215  
 δημοσία συμφορά 147  
 δημόσιον, τὸ 234  
 δημόται 41, 45  
 δημοτικός 169  
 δήμῳ, ἐν τῷ 38  
 διὰ accus. 58, 70, 156, 162; with gen. of medium 104; δι' ἀπορρήτων 96; διὰ βραχέων 60, 69; τὴν διὰ τῶν ὀρκῶν πίστιν 208; διὰ χρόνου 220; δι' ἐνδειαν 240  
 διαβιβάζειν 87  
 διαγωνίζεσθαι 132, 206  
 διαδικασία 146  
 διακονία 13  
 διαλιπὼν 217  
 διαλογίζεσθαι 95  
 διαλύσασθαι 88  
 διαμαρτύρεσθαι 146  
 διάνοια 153, 170  
 διαπολιτευόμενοι 194  
 διαπράττεσθαι 42, 179, 232  
 διατίθεικε τὴν πόλιν οὕτως 127  
 διατελεῖ λέγων 49  
 διατέμνω 207  
 διατριβή 175, 217  
 διαφέρων γενόμενος 162; διαφέρων 178, 212  
 διαφεύγειν 249  
 διαχρησθαι 212, 244  
 διδασκαλεῖα 246  
 διδόναι 'offer' 83  
 διενεγκεῖν 198  
 δίτες, ἡβῆσαι ἐπὶ 122  
 διεφθάρη 246  
 διηριθμημένοι 207  
 δίκαιος, ὁ 181  
 διοικεῖσθαι 2  
 διοίκησις 31  
 διόμνυμι 150  
 διορθοῦν 38  
 διορίζειν 119  
 δοκιμασθεῖς 15, 29  
 δολιχοδρομεῖν 91  
 δραπεταὶ πύδες 152  
 δραχμὴ τοῦ μηνὸς τῆς μῆνης 104  
 δυναστεία 145; δυναστεῖαι 3  
 δυνάστης 114  
 δύσκολος 59  
 δωροδόκημα 69  
 δωροδοκία of Demosthenes 58  
 ἐᾶ, οὐκ 127  
 ἐβουλόμην 2  
 ἐγγράφειν 15, 50  
 ἐγκαθήμενοι 206  
 ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι 55  
 ἐγκαταλαμβάνειν 60  
 ἐγκαταλιπεῖν 90  
 ἐγκωμιάζειν 241  
 εἴ γε μή 219  
 εἰς ἀπολογίαν 35; παρῆναι εἰς 71; καθέξεσθαι εἰς 73; εἰς ὅποτε 99; ἐπασκεῖν εἰς τὰ Ὀλύμπια 179  
 εἰσαγγελίας, ἀπό 52, 79  
 εἰσαγγέλλειν 3, 252  
 εἰσελαύνειν 206  
 εἰσῆιτε 140  
 εἰσιέναι γραφὴν 191

εἰσκαλεῖς 176  
 εἰσπράττειν 104  
 ἐκ παρασκευῆς 3, 62, 73; ἐκ  
 παρατάξεως 88; ἐξ ἀνάγκης  
 126; ἐξ ἴσου 57; ἐκ φύσεως  
 160; ἐκ τριηράρχου 173; ἐκ  
 τῆς πόλεως 173; ἐκ τῶν νό-  
 μων 176; ἐξ ἔθους 178; ἐκ  
 προνομίας 178; τὸ κάλλιστον  
 ἐκ παιδείας 208; ἐξ ὀνομάτων  
 συγκείμενος 229; καὶ ἐκ τῶν  
 εἰρημένων καὶ ἐκ τῶν παρα-  
 λελειμμένων 260  
 ἔκδοτον ποιεῖν 61, 73, 142  
 ἐκδοῦναι 258  
 ἐκείνος 115; ἐκείνως 59, 163,  
 168  
 ἐκκλησίᾳ, τῇ (of time) 34; ἐκ-  
 κλησίαν ποιεῖν 39, 67, 124  
 ἐκποίητος 21  
 ἔκτην ἐπὶ δέκα 98  
 ἐκτροπαλῶ 206  
 ἐκφέρεσθαι 125; ἐκφέρων λό-  
 γους 173  
 ἐλαχίστου τοῦ χαλκοῦ οὐδὲν  
 δέοιτο 104  
 ἐλευθερίως 154  
 ἐλευθέρους ἀφείναι 41  
 ἐλκοποιεῖς 208  
 ἐμβάλλειν 224  
 ἐμπιμπλάμενος 130  
 ἐμπληξία 214  
 ἐμπροσθεν τῶν νόμων 23; οἱ  
 ἐμπροσθεν χρόνοι 60  
 ἐμφράσσω 223  
 ἐν μετριότητι κριθήσονται 133;  
 ἐν ἀρετῇ 202  
 ἐνατα 225  
 ἐναυλος 191  
 ἐνδεικνύμενος 216  
 ἐνδειξίς 219  
 ἐνδιδόναι ἀρχάς 82  
 ἐνεδρεῦναι 206  
 ἐνεπιорκεῖν 149  
 ἐνέχεσθαι 175  
 ἐνεχυράζειν 21  
 ἐνήρκται τὰ κανᾶ 120  
 ἐνιοί 130

ἐνοχλεῖν 246  
 ἐνταῦθα 227, 246  
 ἐνταυθοῖ 201  
 ἐξαιρεῖσθαι 7  
 ἐξαιρετος 89  
 ἐξανηλώμενοι 103  
 ἐξαράσασθαι 116  
 ἐξέκλεισε 74  
 ἐξῆν 2  
 ἐξηρητημένος 164  
 ἐξοδος 245  
 ἐξουσία 130  
 ἐξωνεῖσθαι 66  
 ἐπάγειν 140  
 ἐπακούειν 56  
 ἐπανάγειν 57  
 ἐπανορθοῦν 177  
 ἐπασκεῖν 179, 256  
 ἐπεισάγειν 207, 231  
 ἐπεισιόουσι 153  
 ἔπειτα 187  
 ἐπέστη 79  
 ἐπευθύνειν 158  
 ἐπεύχεται 111  
 ἐπῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν γνώμην 108  
 ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον 7; ἐφ' ᾧ  
 σπουδάζω 49; πρεσβεία ἡ  
 ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρκους 73; ἐφ' ἡμᾶς  
 ἔλθειν 37; ἐφ' ὑμᾶς 89; ἐπὶ  
 ταφὰς παραγενέσθαι 235; ἐφ'  
 ἡμῶν 132, cp. 150, 178, 234;  
 ἐπὶ τῶν καιρῶν καὶ τοῦ συμ-  
 φέροντος 220, cp. 226, 234;  
 ἐφ' ᾧτε 114, 183; ἐφ' ᾧ ἀνε-  
 βόησεν ὁ δῆμος 224; ἐπ' αἰ-  
 τiais 225; ἐφ' ᾧ ἀγανακτῶ  
 228; ἐφ' οἷς ζημία ἐστι θάνα-  
 τος 250; ἐπ' ὀνομάτων πλεῖν  
 253  
 ἐπιβολὰς ἐπιβάλλειν 27  
 ἐπιγράφειν 159, 167, 183  
 ἐπίδειξις 133  
 ἐπιδιδόναι 19  
 ἐπιλαχῶν 62  
 ἐπιμέλεια 13  
 ἐπισκῆπτειν 157  
 ἐπιστάτης 14; τῶν προέδρων  
 ἐπιστάτης 2, 39 .

ἐπιστρατεύειν 83  
 ἐπιτήδειος 230  
 ἐπιτηδεύειν 225  
 ἐπιτίθεσθαι 235  
 ἐπιτιμία 210  
 ἐπιτυχῶν 165  
 ἐπιφέρειν 35, 41; ἐπιφέρεισθαι 172  
 ἐπιχειρήσεις 152  
 ἐπιχώριος 172  
 ἐπιδῆ 192  
 ἐρανίζειν 45  
 ἐργάζεσθαι 220  
 ἔργον τῆς αἰτίας, τό 228  
 etymologica figura 2, 3  
 εὐαγγέλια 160  
 εὐγνώμων 170; εὐγνωμοσύνη 174  
 εὐθυνα or εὐθύνη 17  
 εὐθυναί βίου 230  
 εὐθὺς ἀρχόμενος 21, 216  
 εὐρημένοι 42; εὐρηται 162  
 εὐτυχία of the Athenians 232  
 εὐφημίας ἕνεκα 92  
 ἐφεστηκότες, οἱ 2  
 ἐφικόμενος τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας 189  
 ἕως ἄν 165; ἕως ἔτι μέμνημαι 177  
 ἡγεμονία δικαστηρίων 27  
 ἡδαιμεν 82  
 ἡδέως ἂν ὁμολογησαίμην 236  
 ἡδῆ 52, 129, 145, 147, 174, 246  
 ἡλικία 255  
 ἡμέραις, μεμνήσθαι ἐν ταῖς αὐ-  
 ταῖς 182  
 ἡμιθνής 159  
 ἦν = ἦσαν 184  
 ἡγορέη 185  
 ἡσυχία 216  
 ἦτοι...ἦ 40  
 θαλλός 187  
 θαργηλιών 27  
 θαύματα 167  
 θεοβλάβεια 133  
 θεσμοί 190  
 θεωρούμενοι 247

θηρίον 182  
 θόρυβος 201  
 ἴδιον καὶ οὐ κοινόν 99; περὶ τῶν  
 ἰδίων 204  
 ἰδιώτης 3, 114, 125, 214, 252  
 ἱερᾷ ἡμέρᾳ 67  
 ἱερά, τὰ δημόσια 176; τὰ ἱερά  
 προδεδωκέναι 176  
 ἱερομνήμων 115  
 ἱερὸν εἶναι 46  
 imperative in protasis 110  
 ἴσου, ἐξ 57  
 ἰσχυρά τῆς δημοκρατίας, τὰ 234  
 ἰσχυρίζεσθαι 57  
 κάθαρμα 211  
 καθέζεσθαι εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν 73  
 καθιεροῦν 21  
 καὶ ταῦτα 52; καὶ δὴ 57; καὶ  
 coupling part with whole 58;  
 καὶ...δὴ or δέ 115; καὶ γὰρ  
 ἐάν 155  
 καινοὶ θεοὶ 208  
 καιρὸς δημόσιος 163; καιροὶ 5,  
 91; οἱ νῦν καιροὶ 178, 254;  
 καιρός 239  
 καίτοι γε 131  
 κακοῦργος 202  
 καλὸν καλόν 75; τὰ καλὰ 178;  
 καλῶς ποιοῦντες 232  
 κανών 199  
 κατὰ with gen., 'concerning'  
 50, 124, 213, 217, 241,  
 'against' 170  
 καταβαίνω 164  
 κατάγειν 187  
 καταγελάστω 173  
 καταγνώναί τί τινος 46  
 καταγνώτω 60  
 κατακεκλειμένος 87  
 κατακλύζειν 173  
 κατακοιμήσαντες 66  
 κατακονδυλίζειν 212  
 καταλογίζεσθαι 202  
 καταλύειν 177, 200  
 καταπέμπειν 238  
 καταπλύνειν 178



κατασκευάζειν τὸν χρόνον 70  
 κατασκοπος 82, 225  
 κατασπεύδειν 67  
 καταστέφω 164  
 κατατιθέναι 19; καταθέσθαι  
   χάριν 42  
 καταφάνης 103  
 καταφυγάνειν 208  
 καταχαρίζεσθαι 53  
 καταψεύδεσθαι 77  
 καταπαγγέλλεσθαι 223  
 κατεπαγγελλόμενος 205  
 κατεσκευασμένος 95, 145  
 κατέστη 208  
 κατηγορεῖν 50  
 κατιδεῖν 82  
 κείρασθαι 211  
 κείται ἐν μέσῳ 248  
 κεκρίσθαι 221  
 κεραμεῖα 119  
 κεφάλαια 69; τὸ κεφάλαιον 173,  
   240  
 κηλεῖσθαι 228  
 κήρυγμα 149, 249; τὰ δημόσια  
   κηρύγματα 246  
 κῆτος 130  
 κίναδος 167  
 κλέμμα 100  
 κλέπτειν 35, 99, 200  
 κοινά, τὰ 19; τὰ κοινὰ τῶν  
   ὀνομάτων 248; τὴν ἡγεμονίαν  
   ἐποίησε κοινὴν 143  
 κοινοὶ κριταὶ 214  
 κολακευόμενος 234  
 κρίνειν 245  
 κύκλιοι χοροὶ 232  
 κύριοι νόμοι 37  
  
 λαβῶν μὲν σεσίγηκας 218  
 λαχῶν 62  
 λήμματα 149  
 ληρεῖν 143, 252  
 λίθινος 183  
 λίμος αἰθῶν 184  
 λογογράφος 173  
 λόγος 170; λόγους ἐκφέρων 173  
 λυμαινόμενος 223

μάγος 137  
 μακρότερον τῆς Ἰλιάδος 100  
 μάλιστα μὲν... ἂν δ' ἄρα 202  
 μάχην μὴ νικήσασι 87; μάχην  
   νικήσας 181, 222  
 μείζοσι τιμᾶσθαι 43  
 μελλήματα 72  
 μεμνήσθαι 118; μνήσθητε 254  
 μὲν, place of 53; μὲν... δὲ... δέ  
   124  
 μέρει, ἐν 2, 4  
 μέσῳ, κείται ἐν 248  
 μετὰ τῶν συμφύτων νοσημάτων  
   81; μεθ' ἡμέραν μίαν 133;  
   μετ' ἀρετῆς 211  
 μεταβαλλόμενος 207  
 μεταβολή 64, 78  
 μεταξύ with participle 12  
 μεταστῆναι 117, 122  
 μεταφέρειν τὰ πράγματα 142;  
   μετήνεγκεν 145; μετενήνεκ-  
   ται 193  
 μέτρια 1  
 μέτριος 170  
 μετριότης 133; ἡ τοῦ βίου με-  
   τριότης 218  
 μετρίως 9, 129  
 μέχρι δεῦρο 24  
 μὴ γὰρ ὅτι 46, 167  
 μητρῶν, τό 187  
 μισθοδοταὶ 218  
 μισθοῦ 242  
 μνησικακεῖν 208  
 μόνον 69  
 μόνος καὶ πρῶτος 77  
 moods, change of 65, 104  
 μόρα 243  
 μουσική 246  
 μυριάκις 212  
 μύσται, οἱ 130  
  
 ναὶ 28, 48; ναὶ ἀλλὰ 168  
 ναυμαχία 181  
 νειμάμενοι 251  
 νεώς, ὁ καινός 116  
 νικᾶν ψήφισμα 63; ταῦτ' ἐνίκα  
   72  
 νομιζόμενα, τὰ 77

‘νομοθέταις’ 39

νοσήματα 81

νῦν δέ 180, 208

ξενοκτόνος 224

ξυνός 184

*oath of dicasts* 6

οἰκίαι ἰδιωτικά 250

οἰκουμένη 165

οἶμαι *with pres. infinitive* 231

ὅλα, τὰ 133

ὀλιγαρχικός 168, 170; οἱ ὀλιγαρχικοί 207

ὀλίγοι, οἱ 234

ὀμηρεύσοντες 133

ὄμμασι, ποίοις 121

ὄνομα ὅμοιον καὶ τὸ ἔργον 191

ὅπλοις, ἐν τοῖς 140

*optative, third person plur. aorist* 111

ὀρφανοί 154

ὀρώντων φρονούντων βλεπόντων 94

ὅς *without antecedent* 211, 212

ὅτωδῆποτε 172

οὐ μὴ ποιήσετε 177

οὐδέ γε 78

οὕτω δὴ 189, 205

παγκράτιον 179

παιδεία 117, 208, 260

πάλαισμα δικαστηρίου 205

παλαίστρα 246

παλαίχθων 190

πανδημί 123

πανσέληνος 102

πάνυ 100

παρὰ κατηγορίαν 37; παρὰ τοῦ-  
των 40; παρ’ ὑμῶν 53; παρὰ  
τῷ αὐτῷ 224; παρὰ τοῦτο  
131; παρὰ τὸν γενόμενον πόλε-  
μον 143; τὰ δεινὰ 170; παρ’  
οὐδὲν ἔλθειν 258

παραγεγηρακώς 251

παραγράφειν 74

παράδειγμα 245

παραδοξολογίαν, εἰς 132

παραδόξως 80

παραδύνω 37

παρακαλεῖν ἐπὶ Φίλιππον 58,  
64, 68, 200

παρακαταθέμενοι 180

παραλλάσσειν 192

παραλογίζεσθαι 221

παραναγιγνώσκω 188, 201, 250

παρανοίας ἐαλωκώς 251

παρανομεῖν 77

παρανόμων ἐγράφη 62; τὰς γρα-  
φὰς τῶν παρανόμων ἀνείλον  
191; τὸ παράνομον 192; γρα-  
φὴν παρανόμων πέφευγεν  
194; λύειν τὸ παράνομον 205

παραπηδᾶν 192

παραπλήσιοι αὐτῆς 128

παρασκευή 1; ἐκ παρασκευῆς 3,  
62, 73

παράταξις 1, 88, 151

παραταχθεὶς 35

παραχωρεῖν 5

παρελθεῖν 80, 129, 166

παρεμβολή 205

παρηγγέλλετο 65

παρῆμεν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν 71

παριδῶν 172

παριστάναι 229

παριῶν 82, 145

παρησία 6

*participle conveying the main  
idea* 209, 227

πᾶσι δικαίοις, ἐπὶ 170

πατρικός 52

πατρῶα, τὰ 173

πέισας (τὸν δῆμον) 42

πεντακόσιοι, οἱ 2

πέρα 80

περί, τὰ περί τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας  
ἡσεβημένα 221; τὰ περί τὴν  
Εὐβοίαν 221

περιβαλὼν 226

περιγενέσθαι 115, 173

περιγράφειν 209

περίεργος, ὁ 172

περιδινῶν 167

περιελεῖν 136

περιέρχονται τὴν ἀγοράν 213

περιεστηκότες, οἱ ἔξω 207  
 περιέστησε τὰ πράγματα 82  
 περίστασθαι 206  
 περιπατέω 160  
 περιπετάννυμι 76  
 περιποιεῖσθαι 89, 173  
 περιρραντήρια 176  
 πληγή 147  
 πλήθ, τὰ 134  
*pluperfect with ἄν* 40  
 πνύξ 34  
 ποδὶ καὶ φωνῇ 109  
 ποιεῖν (*of poetical representation*) 231  
 ποῖος 209  
 πολιτεῖαι, τρεῖς 6  
 πολιτεῖαν, προσελθεῖν πρὸς τήν 134  
 πολιτεύεσθαι 7; πεπολίτευται 54  
 πολιτικαὶ δυνάμεις 98, 147  
 πολὺς 223  
 πονηρός 173  
 πραγματεία 13  
 πράξεις 21, 106  
 πρεσβείας πρεσβεύειν 138  
*present, for immediate future* 119, 188; *of frequent occurrence* 192, 232  
 προαιεῖσθαι 170  
 προαίρεσις 170  
 προβάλλεσθαι 11, 84, 203, 209  
 προγέγραπται 48  
 προεδρεύειν 4  
 προεδρία 76, 154  
 προέμενος 173  
 προενδείκνυμι 219  
 προηρημένος 116  
 προκαταλαμβάνειν 9, 12, 248;  
     τὸ βῆμα 71  
 προλαμβάνειν 142  
 προξενία 42; πρόξενος 258  
 προοίμιον 201  
 προπέμπειν 76  
 προπηλακισμός 258 [*see Classical Review, vol. II. p. 251*]  
*πρὸς in the presence of* 33, 49;  
     προσελθεῖν πρὸς τι τῶν κοινῶν

21; *interchanged with εἰς*  
 168; τοῦ πρὸς μητρός 172  
 προσαπειπεῖν 45  
 προσβιασάμενος 72  
 προσβιβάζειν 93  
 προσγελᾶν 87  
 προσγράφειν 203  
 προσεικασθῆναι 247  
 προσελθεῖν 21  
 προσέχειν τι 65  
 προσκαθίζειν 167  
 προσκεφάλαια 76  
 προσλαμβάνειν 9  
 πρόσδοτον, εἰς 95, 212  
 προσποιεῖν, μή 201  
 προσπολεμεῖν 82  
 πρόσταγμα 127, 155  
 προστάται 154  
 προστροπή 110  
 προφέρειν 66  
 πρῶην 242  
 πρωτεύειν 250  
 πυθοῦ 243  
 πυλαγόροι 113  
 πυλαγοροῦντες, οἱ ἀεὶ 126

*question, rhetorical, for apodosis* 202

*ῥαδίως* 3  
*relative for cognate accusative*  
 101  
*ῥῆμα* 72, 92, 167, 202  
*ῥητῶ χρόνῳ, ἐν* 129

*σανίδιον* 200, 201  
*σημεῖα τῶν χρηστῶν, τὰ* 99  
*σιδήρειοι* 166  
*σιωπηθῆσεται* 155  
*σκευαγωγεῖν* 80  
*σκευοθήκη* 26  
*σκυθρωπός* 20  
*σπένδεσθαι τι 63*  
*σπλάγχνα, φυλάττειν τὰ* 160  
*σπονδή* 224  
*στάσις* 206  
*στασιωτικοὶ λόγοι* 208



στεφανῖται ἀγῶνες 179  
 στέφανος ἀλλότριος 47; ξενικός 249  
 στοὰ τῶν Ἑρμῶν 183; ποικίλη 186  
 στρατηγήσας 181  
 στρατήγιον 146  
 στρατηγῶν, αἱ συνηγοραὶ τῶν 7  
 στρατιωτικά, τά 146  
 στρεβλώσας 224  
 σύ emphatic 167  
 subject, change of 7  
 subjunctive 7; deliberative 21; interrogative 163  
 συγγυμνασταὶ 255  
 συγκείμενος 229  
 συγκυνηγέται 255  
 suicide 244  
 συκοφαντηθεὶς ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας 226  
 συλλήβδην 18  
 σύλληψις 225  
 σύλλογος 126  
 συμβαίνω 167, 174  
 συμμαχίας, ποιεῖσθαι τάς 93  
 συμμεταβαλέσθαι 165  
 συμμεταπίπτειν 75  
 συμπακολουθῶν 233  
 συμπατηθήσεσθαι 164  
 συμπρέσβεις 81  
 συναπολογεῖσθαι 62  
 συνάχθεσθαι 242  
 συνέδριον of the Amphictyons 116; of the Greeks 161, 254;  
 συνέδριον συνάγειν 89  
 συνελθεσθε 144  
 συνήγορος 37; συνήγοροι 201  
 συνοικίζειν 171  
 σύνταγμα συντάξας 95  
 σύνταξις 91  
 συντελεῖν 95  
 συρίττεσθαι 231  
 συσπένδων 52  
 συσσιτῶν 52  
 συστάντες ἐπὶ 58  
 συστρέψας 100  
 σχετλιάζειν 146, 244, 258  
 σῶμα 210; σώματα 255

τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα adv. 64  
 τὰξιν λιπεῖν 7, 148, 181, 187, 244  
 τάξις τοῦ λόγου 206  
 taxiarchs 13  
 ταφαὶ 235; δημοσφαὶ ταφαὶ 236  
 τάφροι 236  
 τε...δέ 80  
 τειχοποιός 14  
 τεῖχος Σέρριον 82  
 τέκνα 156; τέκνα γονεῦσι εὐοικότα 111  
 τέρατα 111  
 τερατεύεσθαι 160  
 τεχνίτης 200  
 τηνικαῦτα 191  
 τίμησις 198  
 τινες contemptuous 3, 58, 191, 195; vague 7  
 τοιοῦτος ὅς 137, 234  
 τόπος 216  
 τραγωδοῖς (time) 36, 45, 176;  
 τραγωδῶν γιγνομένων 41;  
 καινῶν τραγωδῶν ἀγωνιζομένων 34  
 τρέφειν Πειθῷ 256  
 τριάκοντα, οἱ 235  
 τριακόσιοι, οἱ 222  
 τρίμηνος 70  
 τριτῦες 30  
 τροπαὶ τοῦ Εὐρίπου 90  
 τρόπαιον ἱστάναι 156  
 τρόπον, μεταλλάσσειν τόν 78  
 τρυφᾶν 20  
 τύχη of Demosthenes 157;  
 τύχη ἀγαθῇ 154  
 ὑπάρχειν 97, 169; ὑπάρχουσα εἰρήνη 55  
 ὑπέθεσαν προσόδους 105  
 ὑπέρ 221  
 ὑπερκαταγέλαστος 192  
 ὑπερπηδᾶν 200  
 ὑπερορίζειν 131, 244, 252  
 ὑπεύθυνος 9, 212  
 ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας 207; στεφανοῦσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν 14;  
 ὑφ' ὑμῖν ἔξετε 235; ὑπὸ τῇ

ὑμετέραν ψῆφον ἄγειν 20, *cp.*  
 19  
 ὑποβάλλειν 23, 48, 95  
 ὑποδοχὴν, *eis* 62  
 ὑποθέσεως, μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς 76;  
 ἀποπλανᾶν ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποθέ-  
 σεως 176, 190  
 ὑποθέσθαι 105  
 ὑποκηρύσσεσθαι 41  
 ὑπομένειν κρίσιν 171  
 ὑπομνήματα 186  
 ὑποπεπτωκότες 116  
 ὑποτέμνεσθαι 67, 166  
 ὑποτρέχει 163  
 ὑφελέσθαι 101  
 φανείται 76  
 φάσκειν 207  
 φαῦλος 168  
 φέρων 82, 90, 143, 146; φερό-  
 μενος 89  
 φεύγειν τὰς δικαίας ἀπολογίας  
 201; ὁ φεύγων *see* γραφή  
 and παρανόμων  
 φησί 110  
 φθίνοντος ἔκτη 73  
 φιλανθρωπία, φιλανθρώπως 57  
 φιλοτιμίας νέμειν 255  
 φοινικίδες 76  
 φορὰ ρητόρων 234  
 φορμορραφούμεθα 166

φόρους, τὸν τάξαντα τοὺς 258  
 φυλακὴ τῶν δημοσίων γραμμα-  
 των 75  
 φυλάσσεσθαι 157  
 φυλὴ προεδρεύουσα 4  
 φύσις 175, 228; τῆς ἐν φύσει  
 δαπάνης 218  
 φωνὰς προσκτεσάμενοι 130;  
 τοῦ τόνου τῆς φωνῆς 200

χαλκοχίτων 185  
 χαρακῶ 140  
 χαρίζεσθαι 180  
 χάριν καταθέσθαι 42; εἰδέναι  
 47

χειροτονίας ἀναγορεύειν 3  
 χορηγεῖν 240  
 χρόνων ἐγγεγεννημένων 221  
 χρυσόκερων 164  
 χωρεῖν 164

ψέγεσθαι 53  
 ψεύδεσθαι, οὐ γὰρ δεῖ 171  
 ψηφίζεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους 6;  
 ἐὰν ψηφίσῃται ὁ δῆμος 36;  
 ἐὰν μὴ ψηφίσῃται ὁ δῆμος 47  
 ψῆφον αἰτεῖ 198; ψῆφος ἀφανῆς  
 φέρεται 233; ψῆφοι ἴσαι 252

ὦνιος 160

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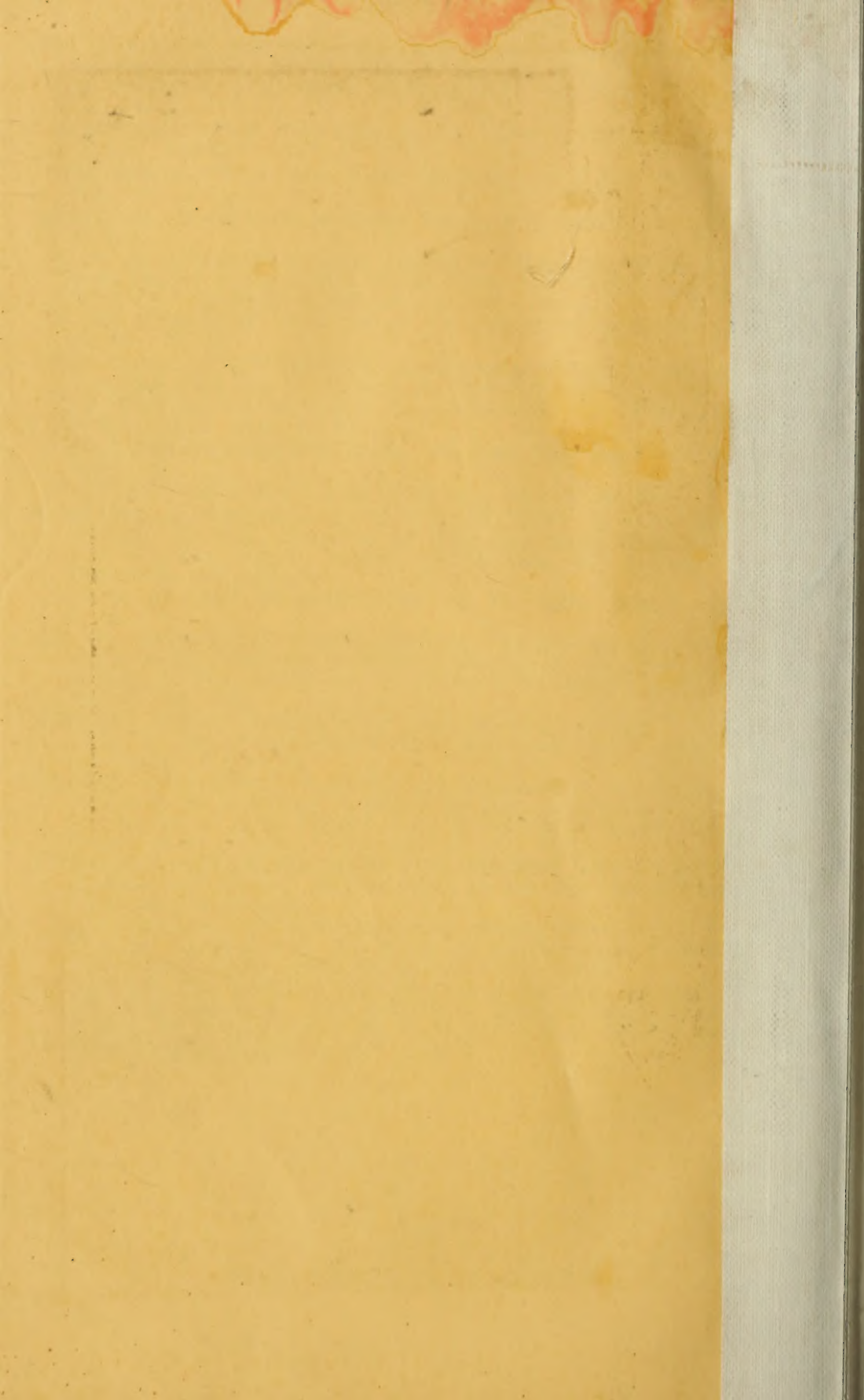


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